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MANCHESTER

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(HENRY GUPPY)

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HENRY GUPPY.

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THE SO-CALLED "GRAFTON PORTRAIT OF SHAKESPEARE," NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER

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VOL. 17 JANUARY, 1933 No. 1

NOTES AND NEWS.

PRESERVATION OF RECORDS OF NATIONAL AND LOCAL HISTORY.

IN our issue for January, 1927, and again in that for January, 1930, we took occasion to refer to the many protests which had been appearing in the Press against the sale, exportation, and ruthless destruction of historical and other documents so constantly taking place; and it gives us great satisfaction to be able to report that opinion has been now so effectively mobilised to defend from destruction all kinds of historical documents whether of national or local interest, as to result in the formation of a new Association definitely devoted to this object.

This step was taken at a conference of record and allied societies and institutions, organised by the British Record Society, and held on the 14th November, 1932, in the Old Hall, Lincoln's Inn, under the chairmanship of The Master of the Rolls (Lord Hanworth), when the "British Records Association" was duly inaugurated, with the adoption of a constitution, and the election of officers and council.

The Master of the Rolls has accepted the office of President. The Vice-Presidents are to include the President of the Society of Antiquaries, persons nominated by the proper authorities to represent record interests in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and the Irish Free State; a representative of the Public Record Office, and one of the British Museum; and not more than four other persons. Every effort has been made to secure that the direction of the policy of this new body shall be in the hands of persons representing a wide range of interests and qualified by practical experience to consider record problems as they affect the most diverse kinds of records.

In the Constitution it is stated: "The objects of the British Records Association shall be to promote the preservation and accessibility under the best possible conditions of Public, semi-Public, and Private Archives; to take measures for the rescue and distribution to recognised custodians, of documents which would otherwise be dispersed or destroyed; to arouse public interest in, and to create a sound public opinion on matters affecting records; to ensure the co-operation to those ends of all Institutions and Persons interested; to enable such Institutions and Persons to interchange views upon matters of technical interest relating to the custody, preservation, accessibility, and use of documents; and to receive and discuss reports on all these matters from its Council, Committees and Sections as provided below."

The Sections referred to are intended to deal with special aspects of the Association's work, such as publication, preservation, and any other aspects the organisation of which, in the opinion of members, with the approval of the Council, would be in the interests of the Association.

The Honorary Secretaries in their circular letter point out that in other countries Central and Local Archive work is to some extent co-ordinated by legislation. The aim of this Association is to create in England a National co-ordination of such work on a voluntary basis. It will refrain carefully from overlapping or interfering with existing local activities, confining its own practical work to those matters (such as the collection of private records which are in danger of destruction, and their distribution to suitable Local Repositories) for which a central organisation is indispensable. At the same time it will act as a connecting link between its members, enabling them by means of its annual conference and the work of its Council and Sections to exchange views upon common problems. It hopes to collect and make available a great deal of information upon all questions affecting records, and it will endeavour to promote in every way an understanding of the value of records together with a high standard of efficiency in their treatment in this country.

The President and Council believe that the Association, if well supported, may achieve work of real national value,

and they are most anxious to secure a full and representative membership.

The annual subscription has been fixed at £1 for institutions, and at not less than 5s. for individual members. Payments may be made to the Honorary Treasurer, Edward Hoare, Esq., at 37 Fleet Street, London. Requests for forms of application for membership and for fuller information should be addressed to the Honorary Secretaries, British Records Association, c/o The Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London, W.C. 1. (The Honorary Secretaries are: Hilary Jenkinson, F.S.A., and Irene J. Churchill, D. Phil.)

One writer in "The Times," in directing attention to the new Association, very pertinently remarks that: "It cannot be too often or too firmly impressed upon the owners of records that the history which the present era most needs to understand is the history of the people and that a qualified student may find enlightenment in papers which seem to the unspecialised eye mere rubbish. It may be that in some obscure bundle lies the secret truth which may in due time clear a slandered reputation or kill the lie that gossip has substituted for history. It is, in fact, impossible for any document to disclose its worth, or its worthlessness, until it is seen in its relation to a much wider circle of events and persons than its immediate interest seems to suggest, and the destruction of one record may defeat a whole inquiry for want of a single link."

It is a matter of common knowledge that there are in private hands an incalculable number of old deeds, leases, settlements, letters, wills, and other papers, the accumulation perhaps of centuries, which may not have any great value from the point of view of national history, but which are of the utmost importance as local records. Such collections, which may have been temporarily stored for want of better accommodation in stables, outhouses, or other unsuitable buildings, where they are likely to suffer irreparable damage from damp and neglect, are frequently turned out by thoughtless executors of estates as worthless lumber.

Such documents form part of the essential source material for the history of the families and districts to which they relate,

and are invaluable to the ever-increasing number of students of our local history and customs.

Hitherto, there has been no expert official advice available for this class of material. It is true that the Historical Manuscripts Commission has been willing to advise owners as to the care and preservation of collections of national importance such as they are mainly concerned with, but for other classes of manuscript matter no such official guidance has been available.

This need will now be met by the new Association, and, indeed, will form one of its most important functions. It will offer to the owners of such collections, or to executors and solicitors of estates which are in process of being broken up, advice as to what is worthy of preservation ; and will also advise them as to the nearest approved local repository where they may be deposited for safe custody, and where they will be readily accessible at any time for purposes of reference.

PARISH REGISTERS.

There is still another class of historical records which calls for prompt action if they are to be saved from destruction through careless and thoughtless neglect. We refer to the Parish Registers of the country, many of which are in a shocking state of disrepair from want of reasonable care, whilst others which have come under our notice have completely perished, and have been allowed to become little better than bundles of rags, and even pulp.

The "Parochial Registers and Records Measure" (19-20 George V., no. 1) which was passed by the Church Assembly and presented to Parliament for the royal assent, is now in force, and is in time to save many of the registers from the process of disintegration by which they are threatened from want of care, if the Bishops will exercise without delay the powers which are vested in them.

Under this measure the Bishops are empowered to establish diocesan record offices in which any register not actually in use, and any deeds or documents of value as historical records may be deposited by the minister concerned. The whole matter is permissive as far as the Bishop is concerned, but his orders, once given, may be enforced in the county court.

We would venture to express the hope that the Bishops will without delay direct that a systematic inspection, by competent officials be carried out in the various dioceses with a view of determining whether the registers and other parish or church muniments are properly cared for, and are readily accessible for purposes of consultation, under the necessary safeguards. In their report the officials should be instructed to indicate what is the condition of the various registers and other documents, and in cases where there are evidences of decay from mildew or other causes, or of disrepair from careless handling, to call attention to the need for immediate action, in order that the necessary repairs or treatment may be applied so as to arrest decay, and prevent further disintegration. The parish chest, or safe, in which the registers and papers are often stored is not infrequently the cause of the trouble, for damp and vitiated air are amongst the worst enemies of such manuscripts, since like human beings, they require air and light.

In cases where the parish does not possess appropriate and safe accommodation for their records, especially for those which are no longer in current use, they should be ordered into the safe custody of the episcopal registry or record office, or of some public repository where at all reasonable times they will be accessible for consultation.

MANOR COURT ROLLS.

We take this opportunity for reminding readers that the John Rylands Library has been appointed by the Master of the Rolls, under the Law of Property (Amendment) Act, 1924, the official repository for manorial and other documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, and we renew the offer which we have made from time to time in these pages of our willingness to take charge of any such collections as may relate to the North of England, more especially to the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire.

Many collections have already been entrusted to our care in response to our previous offers and now find an appropriate resting-place in the charter room or the manuscript room of the library, where they are readily accessible to any student or reader who may wish to consult them.

The most recent transfer of manor court rolls has been made by the Lords of the Honor of Clitheroe, who, at the suggestion of the Master of the Rolls, have requested the Governors of the Library to undertake the custody of the rolls of the manors under their jurisdiction, which covers an area of nearly two hundred miles.

The manors concerned are: Chatburn Worston and Pendleton, Accrington (Old and New), Tottington, Ightenhill (including Pendle), Colne and Trawden. With them is the Wapentake of Blackburn.

The rolls, commencing with 1311 and extending to 1733, number exactly four hundred.

From 1733 onwards the records were no longer kept in roll form but have been bound up in large folio volumes. Forty volumes, covering the years 1733 to 1825, are included in the transfer.

The volumes containing the records from 1825 to date remain for the present in the custody of the Steward of the Honor, Clitheroe Castle.

Dr. William Farrer, in his "Court Rolls of the Honor of Clitheroe, in the County of Lancaster," 3 vols., 1897-1913, has dealt with the court rolls at Clitheroe Castle, and also with others in the Public Record Office.

Some hundreds of deeds, conveyances mostly relating to Lancashire, have been deposited in the Library by the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.

THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

The number of students in the University shows an increase this session, and taking all the departments into account the total reaches upwards of three thousand. In the sixty-nine classes, preparatory and tutorial, organised by the University Joint Committee, the membership for the new session numbers not less than eleven hundred.

STAFF CHANGES: Many changes have taken place in the teaching staff. Professor MILES WALKER has retired after a distinguished tenure of the chair of Electrical Engineering for twenty years. His eminence in his subject is well known to scientists, and the challenging address which he gave from

the chair of the British Association last year has made him known to a much wider circle. Professor BOMPAS SMITH has vacated the position of director of the Department of Education and has retired from the chair of Education which he had held for twenty years. During that period the numbers in the department and the scope of its work have steadily increased. Professor Bompas Smith has strengthened the association of the University with the schools and official bodies within its sphere, and with Teachers' Associations, and in particular of the Royal Society of Teachers, in the foundation and development of which he took an active part. For many years he was a representative governor on the Council of the Rylands Library. Professor PIERO RÉBORA resigned the chair of Italian Studies last session on his appointment as Serena Professor and Director of Studies at the British Institute in Florence, an appointment which forms a valuable link between Italian studies in England and in Italy. The temporary endowment of the chair of Social Economics expired with the termination of Dr. T. E. GREGORY'S appointment as professor. The position which Dr. Gregory has gained as an authority on Economics, and especially as regards banking and finance, gave added importance to his occupancy of the chair.

Appointments have been made to the chairs in the Departments of German, of Education, and of Italian. The new professors are: Professor BARKER FAIRLEY, who comes to the Henry Simon Chair of German from the University of Toronto. Mr. J. F. DUFF, formerly senior lecturer in the Department of Education, who has succeeded Professor Bompas Smith; and Dr. MARIO PRAZ, formerly senior lecturer in Italian in the University of Liverpool, has succeeded Professor Rébora. The changes in the non-professorial staff have been very numerous, and about twenty-six new lecturers, demonstrators, and assistants have been appointed.

NEW HONOURS SCHOOLS: A new Honours School in Geography and Anthropology, distinct in its curriculum from the Honours School which was founded by the late Mr. W. H. Barker in the faculty of Arts, has been established in the faculty of Science, and is attracting interest.

The Honours School of Economics, Politics, and Modern History is already proving attractive as a kind of modern "Greats," for which already a number of students have entered.

An unusual number of deaths of members of the University was reported at the beginning of the new session. Professor WILLIAM STERLING had occupied the chair of Physiology in Owens College and the University for more than thirty years, and during a considerable part of that period was Dean of the Medical School. Dr. J. STUART THOMSON, as a lecturer in the Department of Zoology, for nineteen years was concerned with the earlier stages of medical education. Dr. SIEGMUND MORITZ, an eminent authority on diseases of the larynx, held the post of lecturer in that subject from 1904 to 1919, when he retired. The work of Mr. E. W. V. CLIFTON, senior lecturer in Classics, was marked by ripe scholarship, fine taste, and a delicate appreciation of literary and historic values. The sudden death on the 8th of October, of Miss WINIFRED M. CROMPTON, was a painful shock to her many friends on the staff of the Museum, and in the University generally. She had an almost passionate devotion to the study of Egyptology of which she acquired a remarkable knowledge, and for more than twenty years as an assistant in the Museum she showed the greatest zeal in developing the collection in the Egyptological section. Another valuable service Miss Crompton rendered was the arrangement in the new room of the section of classical archæology, including the collections illustrating the historic culture of the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean, of Greece, and of Rome. Furthermore, the usefulness of the Museum was greatly increased by the lectures and classes which she undertook. Her death will be a serious loss to the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, which she served as Secretary for many years. The death of Mr. S. F. BUTCHER, a valuable member of the University Advisory Committee on Legal Education, is a severe loss to the legal profession and to the public life of the district as well as to the University.

The membership of the University is seriously impoverished by the death of two of its honorary graduates: Sir RONALD ROSS and Dr. GRAHAM WALLAS.

UNIVERSITY INCOME: At the half-yearly meeting of the Court of Governors attention was called to the small percentage of the income of the University which is forthcoming from local authority grants. The gross income for the year amounted to nearly £258,000, the biggest income of any year in the history of the University. Of this the percentage under grants from local authorities was 7·8. It was pointed out that the annual grant from the Corporation of Manchester had been reduced from £10,000 to £9,000, and that of Salford from £600, to £300, and the hope was expressed that these and other local authorities, to whom the University had been greatly indebted in the past for their financial support, would see their way not only to continue their grants but to increase them.

It was also pointed out that the most valuable bequests were those which were not earmarked for any particular department, but were left to the discretion of the University to use as they should think best.

We greatly regret to have to record the death, at the premature age of forty-nine years, of Professor W. T. Waugh, chairman of the Department of History in McGill University, Montreal. Professor Waugh was born at Fairfield, Manchester in 1884, and was educated at Fulneck School, Yorkshire, and the University of Manchester, where later (1919-22) he became Bishop Fraser Reader in History. In 1915 he became acting Professor of History in Queen's University, Belfast, and during the war he joined the staff of the War Trade Intelligence Department. Since 1922 he had been associated with McGill University.

PROFESSOR W. T. WAUGH.

Professor Fiddes pays a touching tribute to his friend and colleague in the short obituary notice which he contributed to the "Manchester Guardian," and which we venture to reprint: "The unexpected news of the death of Professor Waugh will be a great shock to his many friends in Manchester, and especially in the University. He was one of the brilliant historians who were trained there by Professors Tout and Tait, and his scholarship was worthy of his teachers. It was not only profound and accurate: it was essentially the scholarship

of the humanist who never forgot that its value lay in its bearing on human thought as a whole. For the mere piler up of facts he had little use, and he considered that many of the scholars of the Renaissance were overestimated. He was a constant worker and, in addition to many other publications, he had recently completed Wylie's work on Henry V., a heavy task admirably carried out. This year he had finished (and published) a "History of Europe from 1378 to 1494." Waugh took an interest in every side of life. He was perfectly fearless, both in action and in the expression of opinion. One could always expect from him an original view aptly and wittily expressed. His many friends regretted that this lot was cast, after the war, so far away; his premature departure will now be a permanent sorrow to many who valued a friendship which was steel true and sword straight."

W. B. YEATS IN MANCHESTER.

The first of the session's Ludwig Mond Lectures at the University was delivered by Mr. W. B. Yeats, on the 8th of October, when the Whitworth Hall was completely filled some time before the lecture began. The subject of the lecture was "The New Ireland," in the course of which Mr. Yeats made use of the literature of the country to show the powers which had shaped it. He opened his lecture by a short description of four bells whose strokes announced significant changes in Irish history at almost equal distances of time. The first, at the end of the sixteenth century, was the flight of the earls, which ended the Irish feudal system. The second in the seventeenth century, was the Battle of the Boyne, which established the Protestant ascendancy. The third was at the end of the eighteenth century, when the French Revolution awoke in Irish peasantry ideas of justice and liberty. The fourth bell struck in 1891 when the body of Parnell was brought into Kingstown harbour. "Ireland," said Mr. Yeats, "is still living under that shock. One thing became clear to the people: they had sold Parnell and had got nothing for the blood money . . . and I know how the character of the nation was transformed."

Mr. Yeats related that at Parnell's funeral he had the intuition

that for years Ireland would turn from practical politics. He seized the moment and began organising literary societies; Douglas Hyde organised the Gaelic League, and the influence of these impulses spread through Irish life. It established the Abbey Theatre. Lady Gregory discovered the serious use of the Irish dialect, Synge wrote his plays, and James Stephens wrote his poetry.

But something else was happening. James Joyce was discovering the life of the slums, of the lowest of the low, and was finding material comparable with the "Dance of Death." He became a world figure, influencing writers everywhere with the silent monologue, a mixture of speech and reverie. Lenox Robinson was writing a series of grim plays in Cork. At the Abbey Theatre they received many plays analysing all sorts of abuses, and the grim mood became the mood of all literary men. Then came Sean O'Casey who found the dialect of the Dublin slums, and with it the mediæval taste.

The new movement was led by men who had all, except one, been in the civil war and revolution. Liam O'Flaherty was the most characteristic of all. Behind his brutality was Swift's attitude. Life was being weighed. Peadar O'Donnell spoke for the Irish Republican Army. There was Frank O'Connor, writer of "Saint and Mary Kate," and Francis Stuart, writer of "The Coloured Dome." Francis Stuart carried to its highest point the sense that life was something evil that one lived as a sacrifice.

"The poets live in the Middle Ages," said Mr. Yeats. "I would go back. We sing departed things. James Stephens is like a mediæval minstrel. He sings and speaks his own poetry. I would point out to you that speech is the mainspring of all our literature. Nothing else seems to have any passion. We want to get behind the Renaissance."

SIR JAMES FRAZER.

Those of our readers who had the privilege of hearing Sir James Frazer on the occasion of his visit to the Rylands Library some years ago, when he lectured on "Belief in Immortality," will wish to join us in congratulating him upon the wonderful restoration of his eyesight.

Sir James, who is in the seventy-ninth year of his age, and is regarded as the greatest authority in the world on the customs and beliefs of primitive peoples, evidence of which he gave us as long ago as 1890 in the work by which he is best known, "The Golden Bough," had a most enthusiastic reception at Cambridge in November, when he delivered the course of three Wyse Lectures in Trinity College.

Sir James's subject was "Belief in Immortality". In the course of his introductory lecture he discussed the fear of the dead in primitive religion and told of strange customs among unknown tribes. "Men all over the world," said Sir James, "commonly believe that their corporeal being will not end at death, but that it will go on and live in another life. This belief is by no means confined to civilised nations, but is widely held among those whom we call savages and barbarians. To them this belief appears to be native, and it is therefore erroneous to suppose that the belief in immortality after death was first formulated by men like the founders of the great religions of the world: Buddha, Christ and Mohammed. Immortality was believed in by primitive peoples long before the birth of the great religions."

"These savages believe in no awful judgment awaiting them in another world, in no dreadful torture for the wicked, and in no blissful haven in which they may dwell in peace for ever. The immortality of the soul is a problem which has puzzled men for centuries, and it will continue to do so until life on this world comes to an end in some great cosmic chaos, unless, indeed, scientists in the meanwhile discover the secret of the origin of life. When that time comes they may be able also to analyse the soul as well. Scepticism about immortality is rare and hardly found among savages. It seems to grow with the advance of civilisation.

"We think of our beloved dead with sorrow and fond regret," said Sir James, "and we can think of no better happiness than to be reunited with them beyond the grave. But that is not so with savages. The spirits of the dead must be propitiated. Nothing must be done to offend these spirits, who seem only too glad to pick a quarrel with those they loved on

earth. The living must be constantly on their guard against the dead.

"The savages believe that these spirits like just those things they had enjoyed on earth, and pots of beer, meat, flowers, and fruit were demanded by the spirits to ensure good will. Strange and sometimes revolting sacrifices were made by primitive peoples to propitiate the souls of the departed."

On the 14th of December, Manchester was again favoured by a visit from Sir James Frazer. On this occasion Sir James came to deliver the second of the session's Ludwig Mond Lectures at the University, where he had a crowded and enthusiastic audience. The subject with which he dealt was "The fear of death in primitive religion." A good deal of the ground covered by the Cambridge lectures, referred to above, was traversed. In speaking again of some of the beliefs on immortality held by primitive peoples, Sir James said that anyone founding a new religion might take the democratic doctrine of immortality for everybody, the aristocratic doctrine of immortality for noblemen, the moral doctrine of immortality only for the good, the immoral doctrine of immortality only for the bad, or the blighting doctrine of immortality for nobody. One of these alternatives must surely be right, for, if taken together, they seem to exhaust all the possibilities.

Primitive peoples did not believe in the immortality of the soul in the strict sense of the word, because they lacked the conception of eternity which that term implied, but they believed in the survival of the soul after death, and acted upon it logically. Their belief that the souls of the dead could affect the living, for good or for ill was one of the most important aspects of the subject. In Protestantism there was little or nothing to correspond with it; in Catholicism it had a close analogy in the worship of the saints, those saintly spirits who were believed to possess in Heaven the power of protecting the faithful of this world who trusted themselves to their gracious keeping.

Like many rules the rule that primitive folk regarded the spirits of the dead more with fear than with affection was subject to many exceptions. These Sir James described in some detail, giving examples of the ritual used to ensure the

return of the spirit to the ancestral home. In one way or another these customs exhibited a tender regard for the dead, which was different from that fear or avoidance which generally characterised the attitude of primitive man to the spirits of the dead. This was the brighter aspect of the subject. Elsewhere he would deal with the darker side of the picture, but he would spare them the painful details that night. It was enough if he showed them fear as often tempered and combined with affection and a serious desire to maintain communion with the spirits of the departed.

Sir James, we are told, is working on a new book, but what it is about he refuses to reveal.

COLLECTED PAPERS OF T. F. TOUT.

The old students, colleagues, and friends of the late Professor Tout will welcome the publication of the first volume of his collected papers, reviews and lecture articles, which, since their first appearance in the pages of the periodicals for which they were written have been to all intents and purposes buried and lost.

Professors F. M. Powicke and James Tait have rendered a service to scholarship in thus unearthing and giving a new lease of life in a more permanent form to these scholarly studies of their late friend and colleague.

The first volume contains a memoir by Professor Powicke, an article by Mrs. Tout on "T. F. Tout as a Citizen," and another by Professor S. Alexander on "The University of Manchester." These are followed by three of the late professor's papers on "The Manchester School of History," one of which, "History at Owens College," appears here in print for the first time, by nine papers on "History and Historians," and by three reviews, together with a select bibliography of his historical writings.

The second volume will contain thirteen other important papers, whilst the third volume will be devoted to the articles, developed from the lectures delivered from time to time by Professor Tout in the Lecture Hall of the Rylands Library, which made their first appearance in the pages of this BULLETIN.

The volumes are published by the Manchester University

Press at the price of £2 for the set of three volumes. The price of separate volumes is as follows: vol. i, 12s. 6d. (postage 6d.), vols. ii and iii, 15s. each (postage 6d. each).

JAMES TAIT MEMORIAL VOLUME.

It is proposed to present to Professor James Tait on his seventieth birthday, which falls on the 19th of June, a volume of essays as a formal expression of the sense of gratitude felt by his many old students, colleagues and friends for the generous and helpful counsel which he has ever been ready to extend to them.

The circular letter inviting subscriptions to the proposed volume is signed by: Donald Atkinson, H. H. E. Craster, Edward Fiddes, C. H. Firth, A. G. Little, H. M. McKechnie, A. F. Pollard, R. L. Poole, F. M. Powicke, C. W. Previté-Orton, A. E. Stamp, F. M. Stenton, A. Hamilton Thompson, Mary Tout, and lastly by W. T. Waugh, whose lamented death is referred to in another paragraph.

The letter points out that Dr. James Tait, Honorary Professor in the University of Manchester, has an unique place among English historians. In the minds of students of medieval English history he stands as the living embodiment of exact, thorough, and finished scholarship. His work is an almost infallible test by which other work may be judged, and it is not too much to say that many of the most active and original of our younger scholars are inspired by the hope that their labours will win the approval of this modest and self-effacing master of their craft. Dr. Tait's books and papers have opened the way to the fresh study of many aspects of English history between the date of Domesday Book and the Lancastrian age. In his chosen fields of study he is the link between the present day and the days of Stubbs, Round, Maitland, Charles Gross, and Mary Bateson.

Dr. Tait gave inestimable service to the University of Manchester. He has won the affectionate confidence of many generations of pupils. The value of his contributions to learning is yet more far-reaching. His influence can be traced in the work which is being done to-day on the social structure of early England, on charters and diplomatic, and in the study of municipal history.

His more permanent memorial will be his own work, most of which is characteristically hidden away in the "Dictionary of National Biography," the "Victoria County Histories," in the volumes of the Chetham Society, and of the Place Name Society, and in the pages of the "English Historical Review"; but the desire of the promoters is to have associated with them, in this formal expression of gratitude, those who care for the maintenance of sound learning, and who have shared the privilege of access to Dr. Tait's generous and helpful counsel.

The volume will be edited by Mr. V. H. Galbraith, Fellow of Balliol, and Reader in Diplomatic in the University of Oxford; Mr. J. G. Edwards, Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College; and Professor E. F. Jacob, one of Dr. Tait's successors in the direction of the Manchester School of History.

Subscriptions of any amount will be welcome, and should be sent to Mr. H. M. McKechnie, 38 Derby Road, Fallowfield, Manchester. A list of the names of subscribers will appear in the volume, a copy of which will be sent to all who remit the sum of one guinea.

The volume will contain a portrait of Dr. Tait, and a bibliography of his writings.

It is to be hoped that there will be a prompt and generous response to this appeal.

MRS. THRALE AND DOCTOR JOHNSON.

During the century and a half that has elapsed since the death of Dr. Johnson, no man of letters has excited so much attention or has been more talked about. A considerable literature has grown up around his name, and each year brings with it some new evidence that Johnson's great personality is still an active and familiar force.

We announced in our issue of July, 1931, the acquisition by the Rylands Library of a large collection of letters, papers, and note-books containing much new and unpublished matter relating to Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi, Dr. Johnson and their circle of friends. This new matter will not disturb our idea of Dr. Johnson, at the most it will fill gaps and settle doubts.

In the process of sorting and arranging this collection a small leather-covered note-book was discovered, which appears

to have been not only unknown but unsuspected by the former owners, into whose hands it had passed by inheritance from Mrs. Piozzi.

It was in this note-book that Mrs. Thrale recorded day by day the incidents of the journey to France which she undertook in 1775, in company with Mr. Thrale, her eldest daughter (Queeney), and Dr. Johnson.

This diary has now been printed for the first time in a handsome volume, which has been published, with the consent of the Governors, by the Manchester University Press. It has been reproduced *verbatim et literatim* as Mrs. Thrale left it, except that in the matter of punctuation certain adjustments were found to be necessary.

Two accounts of the journey to which this diary refers have survived. One is Dr. Johnson's own journal, containing brief notes upon the events of twenty-six days of the tour which was printed by Boswell in his "Life of Johnson." The other is Mrs. Thrale's diary, already referred to, which covers the whole fifty-eight days of the tour, and differs from that of Dr. Johnson in that it is much fuller.

For purpose of comparison both accounts of the journey have been printed. That of Dr. Johnson from his original manuscript, which is now preserved in the British Museum.

In July, 1784, Mrs. Thrale married Gabriele Piozzi, as her second husband, and in the following September they set out together upon a tour through France, Italy and Germany. An account of this tour was kept in two large note-books. It was later written up by Mrs. Piozzi in seven folio note-books, and then rewritten for publication, in which form it was printed in 1789, in two volumes.

Mrs. Piozzi's original manuscript account of her journey through France on the way to Italy, in 1784, contains so many references to her former visit, and so much information of a personal character which is not found in the printed version, that it has been decided to print it from the original note-book to accompany the hitherto unpublished journal of 1775.

The collection also contains a large number of unpublished letters, some of which have been drawn upon in the preparation

of the present volume. Of special interest are several letters which furnish new evidence concerning Mrs. Piozzi's attitude to her children. One of her most impudent slanderers was Giuseppe Barretti, her daughter Queeney's Italian master, whose unreliability as a witness in the case has been thoroughly exposed by extracts from his own published and hitherto unpublished letters, which have been printed in the appendix.

The volume which is in Demy Octavo ($8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ inches) and bound in cloth, contains 286 pages, two portraits: Mrs. Thrale from the engraving by T. Holloway after the painting of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Dr. Johnson from the engraving by T. Cook after the painting of Sir Joshua Reynolds; and two facsimiles: of a page of Mrs. Thrale's French Journal, 1775, and of a part of a letter from Dr. Johnson to Mrs. Thrale, in French. The published price is Fifteen shillings *net* (postage 6d.). It may be obtained from the Librarian, or from the Secretary of the Manchester University Press, Lime Grove, Manchester.

RATSEI'S GHOST.

Another of the Library publications, which will be welcomed by students of Shakespearean literature, is the reproduction in collotype facsimile, the exact dimensions of the original, of: "Ratsei's Ghost, or the Second Part of his madde Prankes and Robberies" [1605], which forms the fifth issue of "The John Rylands Facsimiles" of unique and rare books and prints in the John Rylands Library.

This pamphlet, of which the only known copy is in the Rylands Library, is of literary as well as of bibliographical interest.

The highwayman, Gamaliel Ratsey, was notorious in the eastern counties from 1603 to 1605, in which year he was hanged at Bedford. An account of his "Life and Death" exists in another unique pamphlet in the Bodleian Library, and to this the Rylands pamphlet is a sequel, and gives a further instalment of his adventures, largely imaginary. In it we read how on one occasion, after fleecing a company of travelling players, he advised the leader to go to London, where his talents would be more profitable, and where he might rival a great actor (probably Burbage) in the part of Hamlet. Ratsey con-

cludes his advice with what seems to be a sarcastic reflection on Shakespeare, who had bought New Place at Stratford, out of his professional earnings some years earlier: "When thou feelest thy purse well lined, buy thee some place or Lordship in the Country, that growing weary of playing, thy mony may there bring thee to dignitie and reputation."

The reproduction is furnished with an introduction by H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester. It is published for the Governors of the Library by the Manchester University Press, in an appropriate binding, at the price of six shillings net. Copies may be obtained from the Librarian or from the Secretary of the Manchester University Press.

THE SO-CALLED "GRAFTON PORTRAIT OF SHAKESPEARE."

There has been a revival of interest in the so-called "Grafton Portrait of Shakespeare," which was bequeathed to the Rylands Library in 1914 by the late Mr. Thomas Kay, of Stockport, since it appeared in reproduction as the frontispiece to Professor J. Dover Wilson's recently published book entitled "The Essential Shakespeare: a biographical adventure" (Cambridge University Press).

Professor Wilson correctly describes the portrait as that of an unknown young man, the exact contemporary of Shakespeare; and we cannot do better than quote several passages from his fascinating little volume in which he compares the features of our portrait with those of the Stratford bust and the Droeshout engraving. He refers to Garrett Janssen's bust as a workmanlike monument, executed in a highly creditable fashion, except for the face, which was clearly beyond the workman's scope "and if Mistress Shakespeare and the poet's daughters" disliked the portrait, what could they do? In cases of this kind the family of the victim is helpless . . . they could only grin like the travesty that confronted them, and bear it."

"But we need not," says the Professor, "and it is time an end was put to the scandal of three centuries, for Janssen's self-satisfied pork-butcher and the folio engraving taken from it, which Mr. J. C. Squire has called 'the pudding-face effigy of

Droeshout,' stands between us and the true Shakespeare, and are so obviously false images of the greatest poet of all time that the world turns in disgust and thinks it is turning from Shakespeare himself. A banner of the crusade against Janssen and Droeshout is hoisted by the frontispiece of this book. It is a reproduction of a beautiful portrait, now hanging in the Rylands Library in Manchester, of a young man of Shakespeare's time. As the inscription at the top shows he was Shakespeare's exact contemporary, and a comparison with the Droeshout engraving reveals the further coincidence that the relative distance from the chin to the lower lip, from the lower lip to the tip of the nose, from the tip of the nose to the lower eyelid, from the lower eyelid to the eyebrow, and from the eyebrow to the top of the forehead, are identical in both portraits, a fact that is not to be despised, seeing the honest Droeshout and Janssen would take a pride in getting their faces right 'by the squier.' The similarity of the great forehead is particularly striking. Beyond these coincidences there is nothing whatever to connect the unknown youth of the wonderful eyes and the oval Shelley-like face with the poet who was also twenty-four years old in 1588."

"Of course," continues Professor Wilson, "the picture has been claimed as a genuine Shakespeare portrait. The temptation to do so is almost irresistible; and for my part, since I first had it brought to my notice in 1914, the temptation has grown stronger every time I have looked at it. It was encouraging also to learn from the posthumous book published in 1928 that Dr. John Smart of Glasgow, the sanest of modern Shakespearian biographers 'found in it his own idea of the youthful Shakespeare and wished it genuine,' yet there is no real evidence, and I do not ask the reader to believe in it or even to wish to believe in it. All I suggest is that he may find it useful in trying to frame his own image of Shakespeare. It will at any rate help him to forget the Stratford bust. Let him take it, if he will, as a painted cloth or arras, drawn in front of that monstrosity and symbolising 'the Essential Poet.' A portrait of Keats or Shelley would have served the purpose; but since fortune has preserved it for us, this picture of an unknown Elizabethan poet serves better. . . ."

" It may remind readers of another thing," continues Professor Wilson, " which is still more often forgotten : Shakespeare was once young. Indeed, he was never old ; for he gave up writing at forty-eight and was only fifty-two when he died."

The portrait is painted on an oak panel measuring $17\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It was first discovered in 1907 at Winston-on-Tees, near Darlington. It is known as " The Grafton Portrait " because it originally came from the Manor House, Grafton Regis, Northamptonshire, which was sacked and plundered by the Parliamentary forces on Christmas Eve, 1643. It is believed that the portrait passed into the possession of the yeoman family of the name of Smith who were tenants of the Manor Farm at the time of the siege of the Grafton Manor House, and that it remained in the possession of the descendants of that family, from whom it was purchased by Mr. Kay in 1909.

Since the publication of " The Essential Shakespeare " so many requests for copies of the portrait have reached us, and as no reproduction of it has hitherto been published in any of the publications of the Library, we have decided to include one in the present issue, as a frontispiece, so that readers may have an opportunity of forming their own opinion of the pleasing features of the portrait to which Professor Wilson refers.

AMERICA'S TRIBUTE TO SHAKESPEARE.

Whilst writing of Shakespeare it may not be out of place briefly to refer to America's tribute to Shakespeare at Washington, enshrined in a building of gleaming white marble next to the Congressional Library, which houses the Folger Shakespeare Library, the most remarkable collection of Shakespeariana ever brought together.

The building contains a little theatre with an Elizabethan stage which provides seating accommodation for barely three hundred people, and it was in this small theatre, on Shakespeare's birthday, the 23rd of July, 1932, that the dedication of this priceless collection took place, in the presence of President Hoover, a number of foreign ambassadors, and a select company of invited guests from many parts of the world.

The dedication ceremony was the culmination of a life's

concentrated purpose, and of a brilliant project of scholarship and public enterprise.

Henry Clay Folger, sometime President of the Standard Oil Company, New York, who died in 1930, was a leading member of the noteworthy Standard Oil group, which included Rockefeller, Harkness and others.

Mr. Folger was inspired by Emerson to take up the study of Shakespeare. As a young man he acquired a copy of a facsimile of the First Folio of Shakespeare's works, and was thereby stimulated to begin slowly and wisely, in the intervals of business, a collection of the literature of and about the national poet of the English-speaking people. He gradually built up his library, coming in time to possess almost everything upon which he set his mind.

He was a student of Amherst College, Massachusetts, and made many impressive gifts to his own and to other universities and libraries.

His own special interest in Shakespeare was bibliography and variations of text. His dream was the preparation of a thoroughly collated and scientifically established text of the poet; and so well and truly did he lay the plans for the realisation of this dream before death claimed him, that the carrying out of this project will form one of the central purposes of the memorial library which bears his name. With this aim steadily in view Mr. Folger, with exemplary persistence, acquired copy after copy of the Folios and Quartos, until he had accumulated no fewer than seventy-nine copies of the First Folio alone, whilst his collection of Quartos is said to be unrivalled. These treasures were kept in bank vaults and strong rooms, and were not only never accessible to scholars but were not even brought together until the year of the inauguration of the library, when, as the building was being made ready for their accommodation, they were transported from New York to Washington.

The collection comprises some eighty thousand volumes, with many thousands of manuscripts, pictures, prints, drawings, etc. There are some fourteen hundred sets of Shakespeare's collected works in practically all editions. The catalogue of special treasures contains hundreds of items of great interest.

Of the First Folio, as we have already stated, there are seventy-nine copies, including several celebrated examples, the most renowned being the copy given by the original printer to Vincent the Herald. There are more than fifty copies of the Second Folio, and every known variety of the four folios is represented. Among the known quartos, before 1623, only three are said to be missing. This series is headed by an unique copy of "Titus Andronicus" of 1591, the first of the plays to appear in print. Of personal copies of the works of Shakespeare the collection contains those used by George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Thomas Gray, Coleridge, Charles Lamb, Sarah Siddons, Goethe and Carlyle. There are a large number of letters relating to Shakespeare by famous men from Voltaire to Tennyson, and an extensive collection of Elizabethan literature.

The building is severely Greek in style, with a modernist touch in the flat surfaces and steel windows. There are familiar scenes from plays in bas-reliefs and Shakespearian mottoes on the walls. The interior is Elizabethan in design. The spacious reading-room for scholars is perfect alike in proportions and comfort. The long exhibition room, intended to be always open to the public, the steel vaults, and the entire equipment are in accordance with the latest of library standards.

The theatre is designed so as to permit plays to be performed in the Elizabethan fashion, with a most elaborate and complete system of stage lighting. There is also a large collection of objects and materials illustrating the stage history of Shakespeare's plays.

The library has an adequate endowment under Mr. Folger's will, and the administration is vested in the Trustees of Amherst College, whose President, Dr. Arthur Pease, presided over the dedication ceremony.

The keys were handed to the President by Mrs. Folger, the widow of the founder. The address of the day was delivered by Dr. Joseph Quincey Adams, formerly of Cornell University, who has been appointed supervisor of research in the new library.

The following articles, which were published in the last issue of the BULLETIN, have been printed in a separate and

more permanent form, and may be obtained from the Librarian or from the Secretary of the Manchester University Press, at the price of eighteen pence each :— RYLANDS LECTURE REPRINTS

"The Taming of the Shrew," by Professor H. B. Charlton, M.A.

"The Etruscan Influence on Roman Religion," by Professor R. S. Conway, Litt.D., F.B.A., etc.

"The Gospel Parables," by Professor C. H. Dodd, M.A., D.D.

"An Early Chapter of the Story of *Homo Sapiens*," by Professor H. J. Fleure, D.Sc.

"Two Lives of Archbishop Chichele," by Professor E. F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil.

"A Fragment of a Witham Charterhouse Chronicle and Adam of Dryburgh, Premonstratensian and Carthusian of Witham," by Miss E. Margaret Thompson.

"List of Current Periodical Publications, including Transactions of Learned Societies, in the John Rylands Library," by T. Murgatroyd (2s.).

Elsewhere in the present issue we publish the second instalment of "Letters of the First Babylonian Dynasty," which date from about 2100 B.C., and consequently belong to the "Golden Age of Hammurabi." LETTERS OF THE FIRST BABYLONIAN DYNASTY.

This group of forty tablets, which forms part of the Rylands collection of Sumerian and Babylonian Tablets, consists of letters which have passed between private individuals or between private individuals and government officials. They are of the first importance for the history and language of the period to which they belong, furnishing names and linguistic forms not hitherto met with in the examination of similar texts. Their publication is eagerly awaited by scholars.

Dr. Fish has furnished not only hand-made copies of the tablets which have been reproduced in facsimile, but transliterations of the cuneiform text, accompanied by English translations or summaries.

The publication in these pages of this second instalment

will be followed by the reissue of the two instalments in a combined volume, which will be furnished with an introduction and an index by Dr. Fish.

THE EARLIEST NEW TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPTS.

In the course of the concluding lecture of the Schweich Lectures on Biblical Archæology, which was delivered on the 7th December, in the rooms of the British Academy, Sir Frederick Kenyon, whose subject was "Recent developments in the Textual Criticism of the Greek Bible," gave some interesting details of the recently discovered Chester Beatty Papyri, the importance of which was made known in "The Times" of the 19th November, 1931.

Since that announcement Biblical students have been impatiently awaiting the results of the study of this new material, upon which scholars of such eminence as Sir Frederick Kenyon, Canon Streeter, and Professor Kirksopp Lake have been busily engaged.

The Chester Beatty Papyri consist of three incomplete papyrus codices of books of the New Testament and eight of books of the Old Testament, and include thirty leaves of a volume which once contained all four Gospels and the Acts. These leaves appear to be of the third century, consequently they are about a century earlier than the "Codex Vaticanus," and are by far the earliest manuscript of the New Testament of any size. They contain substantial portions of Acts and Luke, rather less of Mark, and smaller portions of John and Matthew.

Sir Frederick Kenyon explained that a first examination of these papyrus leaves show that in Mark the text is distinctly Cæsarean. In the other Gospels the Cæsarean text has not yet been fully determined, but the text of the papyrus stands midway between the Neutral and Western types. Neither in Acts nor in Luke does it support the most marked divergence of the Western family.

Sir Frederick further explained that during the second and third centuries little importance was attached to exact textual accuracy. Hence a large number of variants crept

into the text, some accidental, some intentional, and these left their mark on the copies which came to be produced at a later stage.

The Neutral and Cæsarean types of text appear to be the result of careful and scientific handling of the materials available, in which accuracy of tradition was aimed at. The Western family represents a far freer treatment, in which inclusion rather than exclusion was aimed at, and considerable liberties were taken with the text.

The Chester Beatty Papyrus appears to show that the Cæsarean type of text really originated in Egypt, and may have been taken by Origen himself to Cæsarea. In any case it is a most valuable addition to our knowledge of the history of the text of the New Testament, and confirms belief in its substantial integrity.

We believe it is the intention of the present owner of the papyri, Mr. Chester Beatty, to authorise their publication in facsimile with full critical apparatus.

WARREN HASTINGS.

The memory of Warren Hastings, the bicentenary of whose birth fell on the 6th of December, was fittingly and eloquently commemorated in London at meetings arranged by the Royal Empire Society, and in the old hall of Westminster School where he had been educated, also by exhibitions of portraits, manuscripts, and personal relics in the Nimrud Gallery at the British Museum and at Westminster School.

The fame of this great man of unblemished honour, who has been described as the greatest Englishman in the eighteenth century, has passed through every vicissitude from libel and invective to undiscriminating praise. Since the day in 1813, when the House of Commons rose and uncovered to the man they had tried to condemn, his name has been honoured, and he has come to be recognised as the founder of the British Empire in India. He it was who saved British India from destruction, and did it unaided in the face of an uninformed corrupt opinion, which was working for his downfall, in spite of the transparent honesty of his purpose.

He had the courage to defy all the Directors of the East India Company in England rather than fail, and as a result he was instrumental in developing the East India Company into one of the Asiatic powers. The Company had conquered part of India, but Hastings was the first man to administer an important conquered country for the benefit of its inhabitants. He created government out of chaos.

It was not by natives of India that the charges against Hastings were inspired but by his own countrymen—enemies of the man who was described by George IV as "the most ill-used man in the Dominions of the Crown."

After a trial in Westminster Hall which lasted seven years he was acquitted on the 23rd of April, 1795. But he was a ruined man, his defence which had cost £75,528 not only swept away his fortune but left him heavily in debt. The Government was so hostile, that it would not permit the Company to recoup him, although later the Company did grant him a pension, and a loan which enabled him to devote himself to the recovery of Daylesford Manor, which had been a Hastings property since the middle of the twelfth century, although during the Civil Wars, in which the squire fought for the king, it had passed out of their hands.

The later years of Hastings' life were lived at Daylesford as a country squire. He died on the 22nd of August, 1818.

He was content to go down to the grave as "Warren Hastings." He was offered a belated peerage, but he declared that he would be made miserable by a title obtained by means which would sink him in his own estimation.

There is no national memorial to this great man on English ground, and no authoritative life of him has yet been written. But his monument is the British Empire in India.

THE MAKING OF BRITISH INDIA.

Those of our readers who are interested in the history of our Indian Empire, will be glad to learn that the Rylands Library is in possession of an extensive collection of material, both manuscript and printed, dealing with the making of British India.

The foundations of the collection were laid during Professor

Ramsay Muir's tenure of the Chair of Modern History in the University of Manchester, between the years 1913 and 1921.

Few scholars were better qualified to direct research in the history of India, which he had decided to make a special subject in his department in the History School. With this purpose in view, in 1915, he published through the Manchester University Press an introduction to the contemporary materials which are available to enable students to see the main events of Anglo-Indian history through the eyes of its principal actors, under the title: "The Making of British India, 1756-1858, described in a series of dispatches, treaties, statutes and other documents, selected and edited with introduction and notes." In the opening words of his preface Professor Muir points out that "no part of the achievement of the British race is more deserving of study than the process by which, in the course of a single century, the Indian Empire was established, and its system of government developed. Yet this story is curiously little studied either in Britain or in India."

Much of the material to which Professor Muir refers has been already printed in biographies, pamphlets, Parliamentary Papers, and Reports of Commissions, but vast masses still remain unprinted, both in India and in England, and the number of students at work on these materials is discreditably small. It is true that since these observations were made by Professor Muir the first of three volumes out of six of "The Cambridge History of India," in which the leading authorities are collaborating, have made their appearance; but we believe it still to be true that in no University is systematic research in this great subject being conducted.

In January, 1916, Professor Muir delivered a lecture in the Rylands Library on "The Modern View of Warren Hastings," in the course of which he emphasised the fact that hitherto no authoritative life of Warren Hastings had been written, and he informed his audience that already he had set some of his students to work on the sifting of the almost bewildering amount of the available materials for such a life. Unfortunately, with the retirement of Professor Muir from his Chair the project was for the time abandoned, and has not since been resumed.

It was with a view of assisting Professor Muir and his students that the nucleus of a library of Anglo-Indian history was formed. With the generous co-operation of the India Office, and the then Secretary of State for India, we were able to get together a collection of works numbering some thousands of volumes, many of which, printed locally in India, it would have been impossible to obtain but for the assistance rendered by the Government officials.

In addition to this printed matter we have been fortunate enough to acquire from time to time, a considerable collection of manuscript material. Of this material three groups may be mentioned. First there are the papers of Richard Johnson, an official of the East India Company, who in 1784 was appointed Resident at Hyderabad ; these contain much relating to Hastings, with whom Johnson was in frequent correspondence. The second group is composed of well over two thousand documents and letters, formerly among the papers of Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville and Robert Dundas, the 2nd Viscount ; they relate to the administration of Indian affairs as conducted both in this country and on the spot, and among other matters they deal with the Army, the Civil Service, the administration of justice, finance and trade. The third group of papers and transcripts of manuscripts is, for the most part, later in date. The collection evidently belonged to John Charles Mason (1798-1881), who was secretary in 1837 of the newly-formed Marine branch of the secretary's office of the East India Company ; in 1859 he became secretary of the Marine and Transport Department at East India House, and later in the India Office. Mason arranged the transport of troops and supplies to India during the Mutiny, and many of the papers are concerned with transport arrangements and also with the Bombay Marine and the Indian Navy.

RYLANDS PUBLIC LECTURES.

The following is a list of the public evening lectures (the thirty-first series) which have been arranged for delivery in the lecture hall of the Library during the current session :—

Wednesday, 12th October, 1932. "Midsummer Night's

Dream." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th November, 1932. "The Mind of Paul: a Psychological Approach." By C. H. Dodd, M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis and Criticism in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 7th December, 1932. "From Orpheus to Cicero." By R. S. Conway, Litt.D., D.Litt., Dott. on Univ., F.B.A., Professor Emeritus of the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th January, 1933. "Racial Distribution in the Light of Archæology." By H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., Professor of Geography in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th February, 1933. "Florida verborum Venustas: Euphuism in the early Fifteenth Century in England." By Ernest F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Mediæval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th March, 1933. "The Meaning of Value." By Samuel Alexander, O.M., Litt.D., F.B.A., Honorary Professor of Philosophy in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 22nd March, 1933. "The Instruments and Discipline of Learning." By the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, P.C., K.T., D.Litt., F.R.S., etc., Chancellor of the University of Manchester.

Elaborations of the first three of the above lectures by Professors Charlton, Dodd and Conway are printed elsewhere in the present issue.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The following titles represent a selection of the works which have been added to the shelves of the library since the publication of our last issue. They serve to indicate the character of the additions which are constantly being made :—

ART: Borenius (T.), "Saint Thomas Becket in art," 42 plates, 4to; Cairo Museum, "Catalogue général des antiquités Egyptiennes: Die Demotische Denkmäler, 3: Demotischen Inschriften und Papyri, von W. Spiegelberg," 4to; "Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum": France, Musée du Louvre, 7; British Museum, 7; Pologne, 1, Folio; Fischer (C.), "Les

costumes de l'opéra," 4to; FURTWAENGLER (A.), and others, "Griechische Vasenmalerei," Serie 3, (6), Folio; "The LUTTRELL PSALTER, two plates in colour and 183 in monochrome from addl. MS. 42130 in the British Museum, with introduction by E. G. Millar," Folio; MAHR (A.), "Christian art in Ireland," vol. 1, 8vo.; MÂLE (E.), "L'art religieux après le Concile de Trent: étude sur l'iconographie de la fin du 16e du 17e du 18e siècle: Italie, France, Espagne, Flandres," 4to; OLIVIER (E.) and others, "Manuel de l'amateur de reliures armoriées françaises," 4to; PETRIE (Flinders), "Decorative patterns of the ancient world," 4to; VENTURI (A.), "Storia dell' arte Italiana, vol. 10: La pittura del cinquecento," 8vo; WEEGE (F.), "Der Tanz in der Antike," 4to.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "BIBLIOTHÈQUE des annales Institutorum: L'archivio di Stato in Roma," vol. 2, 4to; CHROUST (A.), "Monumenta palæographica Denkmäler der Screibkunst des Mittelalters," Riehe 3, 3-10, Large Folio; CIASCA (R.), "Bibliografia Sarda sotto gli auspici della R. Universitâ degli Studi di Cagliari," vol. 1, 8vo; COWLEY (J. D.), "A bibliography of abridgments, digests, dictionaries and indexes of English law to the year 1800 (Selden Society)," 4to; DIX (E. K. McC.), "Printing in Dublin prior to 1611," 8vo; "GESAMTKATALOG der Preussischen Bibliotheken," Band 2: Advent-Alcocer, 4to; "GESAMTKATALOG der Wiegendrucke (Berlin), Band 5: Brev.-Byen." 4to; HALKETT (S.), and LANG (J.), "Dictionary of anonymous and pseudonymous literature"; new edition by J. Kennedy and others; 6 vols, 8vo; JONES (L. Webber), "The Script of Cologne from Hildebrand to Herman, with 100 plates," Folio; MAZZATINTI (G.), and SOBRELLI (A.), "Inventari dei manoscritti delle bibliotheche d'Italia, vol. 49: Udine, vol. 50: Bassano del Grappa, vol. 51: Fano," 8vo; MILLARES CARLO (A.), "Ensayo de una bibliografia de escritores naturales de las Islas Canarias, siglos 16-18," 8vo; NATALI (G.), "Bibliografia Leopardiana, parte 2," 8vo; NIELSEN (L.), "Dansk Bibliografi, 1551-1600, 5-6," 4to; PASQUIER (E.) and DAUPHIN (V.), "Imprimeurs et libraires de l'Anjou," 4to; REFERENCE CATALOGUE OF CURRENT LITERATURE, 1932, 5 vols., 8vo; SCHORBACH (C.), "Der Strassburger Frühdrucker Johann

Mentelin, 1458-1478," 4to; SCHRAMM (A.), "Die Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke, Band 15: Die Drucker der Mainz," Folio; SINGER (DOROTHY) and others, "Catalogue of Latin and vernacular alchemical MSS. in Great Britain and Ireland, from before the sixteenth century," 3 vols., 8vo; "SUBJECT INDEX TO PERIODICALS, issued by the Library Association, 1930," 4to; TCHMERZINE (A.), "Bibliographie d'éditions originales et rares d'auteurs français des 15e-18e siècles," 5 vols., 8vo; WALES, "Bibliography of the history of Wales; compiled for the Guild of Graduates of the University of Wales . . . by R. T. Jenkins and W. Rees," 8vo; ZARCO CUEVAS (F.), "Catalogo de los manuscritos catalanes, gallegos, y portugueses de la bibliotheca de El Escorial," 8vo.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY: "Acta ARCHÆOLOGICA . . . (Copenhagen)," vol. 3 (1932), 4to; "ACTS OF THE LORDS OF COUNCIL IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 1501-1554: Selections from the 'Acta Dominorum Concilii,' introductory to the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, edited by R. K. Hannay," 8vo; "ACTS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND, 1622-1623," 8vo; ANDERSON (A. R.), "Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog and the Inclosed Nations (Mediæval Academy of America)," 8vo; ADAMS (G. B.), "The origin of the English constitution, enlarged edition," 8vo; "ANNALES du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte," tome 31 (1931)," 8vo; "ANNALES Institutorum quae provehendis humanioribus disciplinis artibusque colendis a variis in urbe erecta sunt nationibus, 3 (1930-1931)," 4to; "ANNALS of Archæology and Anthropology," vol. 19 (1932); ANNUARIO delle R. Scuola Archæologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente, x (1927-1929)," 4to; BAIKIE (J.), "Egyptian antiquities in the Nile Valley: a descriptive handbook," 8vo; BALTEAU (J.), "Dictionnaire de biographie française," Fasc. 1-5 (A-Alb.), 8vo; BARTHOU (L.), "Danton," 8vo; BATTISTINI (M.), "La Confrérie de Sainte-Barbe des Flamands à Florence: documents relatifs aux tisserands et aux tapissiers," 8vo; BEARDWOOD (Alice), "Alien merchants in England, 1350-1377 (Medieval Acad. in America)," 8vo; "BIBLIOGRAPHIE d'histoire coloniale (1900-1930): Premier congrès intern. d'histoire coloniale," 8vo; BINYON (L.), "Akbar,"

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A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM.

BY H. B. CHARLTON, M.A.,

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

ON the previous occasions when I have talked with you on Shakespeare and his comedies, we have been dealing with a dramatic apprentice—with one who was thrilled by the kaleidoscopic procession of life, and who was as spell-bound with the power of words over the mind of man as with his own genius for manipulating that magic spell. But nevertheless with one who, as a dramatist, was still serving his apprenticeship. As a poet, one may safely say, he had at the outset given pledges of a triumph to come. If *Love's Labour's Lost*, his first comic offering, be regarded, not as a drama, but merely as an exercise in the play of words, it is palpably the diploma piece of one born for mastery. The words in it are clearly more important than are its men and women, and all their deeds. It is the work of a poet who is born into an age of drama,—but who as yet is only vaguely cognisant of the demands of drama as distinct from those of poetry. He is bewitched by the magic of words and revels in his dexterity to manipulate sound and symbol. Every mode of expression is a delight or a snare for him ; all are exercises in the fascinating game of word-play. Sparkling taffeta phrases flash in scintillating wit. Choice new-minted expressions strut in spruce affectation. Heavy ink-horn terms waddle by in mock solemnity. Vulgar and clownish perversions blunder into humorous nonsense. At times, too, there is the sweet and musical harmony of bright Apollo's lute. But all this is the revelry of poetry, the amazing craft of a young poet, for whom words are the power of life, the mighty instruments through which his mastery may be displayed, or perhaps by which he may himself be mastered.

But the poet gives the dramatist little or no opening. Only at the end are these spruce affectations forsworn for honest kersey yeas and nays. So the folk of his play walk on to the stage, not to display themselves in the human predicaments which are the matter of drama, but merely to add another dialect to the feast of languages. The courtiers are the brilliant and witty euphuists, Armado is the gongorist, Holofernes the disgorger of scholastic pedantries, Costard the canny lout whose misprisions of the Queen's English are all to his own bodily profit. But in *Love's Labour's Lost* all of them have but one function—they are pedlars of wit. Shakespeare's indifference to character, to anything but the tongues of his people, and his utter lack of interest in the story which should involve them in the chances and mischances of human circumstance, are plain proof of his blindness to what soon was to provide the stuff of his and the world's greatest dramas. For drama lives on its interest in human action, in man's moulding in the maze of incident, in his response to his environment, his strife with destiny, either to achieve control of circumstance in comedy, or to meet destruction in tragedy by opposing the facts of his fate.

Yet even *Love's Labour's Lost*, because it is artificially and arbitrarily cast into the shape of drama, broadly indicates what features of man's contact with the world were, for Shakespeare's day, the crucial and decisive moments of his mortal existence. They were his apprehension of what for the sixteenth century was the problem and the opportunity by which man's destiny was most richly to be realised—his aptitude for the disciplinary experiences of love.

The sixteenth-century dramatist, depicting the dilemma and the triumph of life, was mainly moved to discover man achieving happiness or sorrow through his relationship with woman, through his liability to love. There is talk of love in *Love's Labour's Lost* : there is no dramatisation of its operation on life as a vital energy. And the plays after *Love's Labour's Lost*, already looked at in earlier lectures in this series, have shown Shakespeare the poet slowly becoming Shakespeare the dramatist, finding a technique or a manner by which, as in the *Comedy of Errors*, the theatre may be competently used as the dramatist's instrument for expressing

whatever for the moment he may have to say, or as in the *Two Gentlemen*, using that technique to express what in the prevalent temper was assumed to be the proper thing to say in respect of man's capacity for the happy mastery of his life.

But at length in *The Taming of the Shrew* there appeared a Shakespeare who had acquired a certain control over his instrument, the theatre, but who apparently was completely baffled by the inability of that instrument to play the tune which was the music of his own times. He had set the *Two Gentlemen* to the key which was the song of the sixteenth century, the music of lovers and of their romantic loves; but the dramatisation of it grated with strident discords, and so in *The Taming of the Shrew* he seems to fall back on drama as a mode of expression, a kind of orchestration, which is not fitted to utter the delicious and exquisite notes of lovers proving all the pleasures of their love. *The Taming of the Shrew* is an evening's amusement in which Shakespeare is running away from the inevitable dramatic problem of the life of his own day.

But of course the story of *The Taming of the Shrew* is so built that it solves, or seems to solve, Petruchio's problem. Yet in fact it does not rescue Shakespeare and his contemporaries from their predicament. It does not mirror an Elizabethan facing and grappling with the dilemmas of Elizabethan man; it is not therefore comic drama, it is farce. It succeeds, not by its representation, but by its distortion of life. The play in our programme to-night, the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, with all its appearance of fairy, with its apparent revelry in the stuff of which dreams are made, with its alluring unreality, and its evident riot of fantasy, is yet the first play in which Shakespeare reveals his promise as the world's comic dramatist, the first exhibition of his power to use comedy for its proper function, to show real man encountering the real problem of the world in which he was really living—in other words, for Shakespeare's day, the first play in which he showed contemporary man buffetted by the power felt then to be the primary factor of his existence, his response to the quality and the might of love. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is admittedly Shakespeare's first masterpiece. But the attributes of it often put forward as the

features determining its excellence are rather the results than the cause of its supremacy. Critics note the wonderful dexterity with which three evidently alien kinds of matter are woven into a single composite picture, three distinct and unrelated worlds shaped into one consistent universe. The anachronistic court of a pre-Homeric Athens, the realistic population of a contemporary English countryside, and the realm of a fairy land in which ancient, mediæval, and modern have broken through the limits of time to exist together in one and the same timeless moment—here are seemingly indissoluble incongruities, apt only to the unintelligible confusions of a nightmare. Yet Shakespeare welds them into the form of a credible society; and all, one is asked to believe, by his technical expertness in plotting, and in particular, by his marvellous employment of the pansy's philtre. But in fact, this skilful workmanship in plotcraft, in forging links to bind the incidents of three different stories into one, is but the outward execution giving visible unity to a body of matter of which the real harmony has been shaped by imaginative insight. These three separate worlds are moulded into one by a controlling point of view, by an idea, not by a philtre. The unity of the comic idea, not the joinery of episodes, is what makes the greatness of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is not Shakespeare's first masterpiece because in it he is technically more expert than hitherto in such qualities as deftness in structure; it is because in it he has seized more securely on the vital temper of his generation and embodied with it more of the essential spirit of his time. Though this security shows itself through a surer control of his plot and a greater ease in effecting the progressive relationships of his characters, the most distinctive mark of it is that his matter has now acquired a more searching significance for life, and a closer bearing on the facts of existence. As an artist, Shakespeare is attaining a comic idea, but attaining it as an artist, through his imaginative apprehension, not through his work-a-day reason. Even in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* it is not by any means fully evolved; and the sign of its imperfection is that as yet it has not fully apprehended the part to be played in the comic idea by the sense for character; and so, technically, the weakest part of the play is

its characterisation. But sufficient progress in other respects is obvious by ready reference to its forerunners.

Thus, once the guffaws over *The Taming of the Shrew* have died down, it becomes clear that Petruchio's is a specious triumph. If man can be like Petruchio, if, like Petruchio, he can choose his mate on strictly economic principles, if the object of wiving is wealth and domestic comfort alone, then there is no more to be said. *The Taming of the Shrew* is the last word of wisdom. But none of these qualifications held good for Shakespeare or for his contemporaries. They were different in temper from Petruchio. Wiving for them was wooing. They clamoured for romance, because they themselves had become romantic. They were different in spiritual kind from the men of the older world where Petruchio would have been congenially at home, and their world itself was different. They clamoured for the romantic representation of love because they had learnt, in the meantime, that love was a romantic experience. Reading in the chronicle of wasted time the description of fairest wights, hearing beauty making beautiful old rhyme in praise of ladies dead and lovely knights, they had added to their own spiritual susceptibilities; they had inured in themselves the habit of experiencing the pains and the pleasures of love as a romantic ecstasy, the most decisive and the most significant episode in human life. Turn at random to any anthology of Elizabethan poetry. The vast bulk of it is mainly the song of the lover, of his passion and of his plaint; but whether one or the other, the poet is enthralled by the attitude of man to maid. His most frequent question is "What is Love?" and though he may in devouter moments recognise its implications in eternity, he is above all concerned with its significance to his present state. There is Shakespeare's light-hearted answer:

> What is Love? 'Tis not hereafter;
> Present worth hath present laughter;
> What's come is still unsure:
> In delay there lies no plenty;
> Then come kiss me sweet and twenty,
> Youth's a stuff will not endure.

Lightly, too, Peele (*Hunting of Cupid*, 1591) asks—

What thing is love? for, well I wot, love is a thing.
It is a prick, it is a sting,
It is a pretty, pretty thing;
It is a fire, it is a coal,
Whose flame creeps in at every hole;
And as my wit doth best devise
Love's dwelling is in ladies' eyes:
From whence do glance love's piercing darts
That make such holes into our hearts;
And all the world herein accord
Love is a great and mighty lord.

Or Sir Walter Raleigh opens a poem by expressing his sense of the enormous issues involved:

Now what is love, I pray thee tell?
It is that fountain and that well
Where pleasures and repentance dwell.
It is perhaps that sauncing bell
That tolls all into heaven or hell.
And this is love, as I here tell.

If the last line foreshadows the cynical anti-climax of the poem, that is but the hall-mark of Raleigh's own temperament.

So largely, then, did love bulk in the consciousness of life; there was no escape from it. Hear, for instance, a minor poet, one, therefore, likely to speak the common voice and tell of every-man's sentiment:

Except I love, I cannot have delight,
    It is a care that doth to life belong:
For why I hold that life in great despite
    That hath not sour mixed with sweet among,
And though the torments which I feel be strong,
    Yet had I rather thus far to remain
Than laugh, and live, not feeling lover's pain.
(*Mirror of Knighthood*, 1583).

It was an experience—inevitable, universal, omnipotent—and whether it brought immediate joy or present pain, it was the experience to be desired above all others:

Amid my bale, I bathe in bliss,
    I swim in heaven, I sink in hell;
I find amends for every miss
    And yet my moan no tongue can tell.
I live and love, what would you more?
    As never lover lived before.
(Gascoigne, *Posies*, 1575).

Even in the full consciousness of probable suffering through it, man could not control his nature and foreswear it :

> But if the love that hath, and still doth burn me,
> No love at length return me,
> Out of my thoughts I'll set her.
> Heart, let her go : O heart, I pray thee, let her.
> Say, shall she go ?
> Oh no, no, no, no, no !
> Fixed in the heart, how can the heart forget her ?
> (Davison, *Poetical Rhapsody*, 1602).

And if most of these laments and raptures tinkle like sweet nothings or nothings which are bitter-sweet, if they sound but as a passing fashion, a mannerism of an epoch rather than a habit deeply graven in its consciousness, one may turn to profounder expressions, which tell how love fills the mind of man and permeates the whole of his universe. There is Donne with his sense that love is old as time itself : he longs to talk with some old lover's ghost who died before the god of love was born. Or again, he can conceive no significance for a world in which love has no existence :

> I wonder, by my troth, what thou and I
> Did, till we loved : were we not weaned till then ?
> But sucked in country pleasures, childishly ?
> Or snorted we in the Seven Sleepers' den ?
> 'Twas so ; but this, all pleasures fancies be ;
> If ever any beauty I did see,
> Which I desired, and got, 'twas but a dream of thee.
>
> And now good-morrow to our waking souls,
> Which watch not one another out of fear ;
> For love all love of other sights controls,
> And makes one little room an everywhere.
> Let sea-discoverers to new worlds have gone ;
> Let maps to other, worlds on worlds have shown,
> Let us possess one world ; each hath one, and is one.
>
> My face in thine eyes, thine in mine appears,
> And true plain hearts do in the faces rest ;
> Where can we find two better hemispheres
> Without sharp north, without declining west ?
> What ever dies, was not mixed equally :
> If our two loves be one, or thou and I
> Love so alike that none do slacken, none can die.

And then his (or Hoskin's) magnificent apprehension of love's triumph over time and life :

> Who loves a mistress of such quality,
> He soon hath found
> Affection's ground
> Beyond time, place, and all mortality.
> To hearts that cannot vary
> Absence is present, time doth tarry.

But these are enough to show how mightily love bulked in what the Elizabethans found life to be. To them, for better or for worse, to live was to love, and to love was to love romantically. That was for them a fact of existence. Whether, of course, it was a fact ultimately giving man cause for joy, or whether it constituted a danger to humanity was a further question. It was precisely one of those questions pertinent to the comic dramatist. For comedy, necessarily leading to a happy denouement, showing its heroes attaining their joy by a successful management of circumstance, must equip its heroes with the qualities apt to triumph over the hindrances and troubles which are part of such life as is reflected in comedy. " What is love ? " or rather, " What is the place of love in life ? " is the question underlying *A Midsummer Night's Dream ;* and as the play is a comedy, life in it will necessarily be life as men are finding it, life which is the thing men such as author and audience find themselves destined to live. And in their direct and daily experience of it, the power of love was an undeniable fact. So Petruchio in *The Taming of the Shrew* achieves only a false victory. He triumphs because he denies love. But his denial is simply a mark of his own limitation, and in no wise dismisses love from the consciousness of the sixteenth century. He is a less complete man than is any of his audience, and the world he knows is less than is theirs. His orbit does not reach beyond the knock-about, workaday world of merchandise and merchant-venturings, in a phrase, the world of the city. He never sees beyond the horizon of Roman comedy. Petruchio brings love down to earth, but only to a small corner of it, to the quarter still known as " the city," or that " about town." And even before the Roman comic dramatists were born, Greek poets in

Sicily had explored vastly different regions, rural scenes where " there is spring and greenness everywhere," " rivers and vales, a glorious birth," " pastures and rills, a bounteous race." These woodlands of Theocritus echo to the piping of Menalcas and to the songs of Daphnis, surpassing those of nightingales in sweetness. And even the earliest singers of this new country were dimly aware that the novel sensations they felt when they were moved by their rural surroundings, betokened a new faculty for sentiment; and that this faculty was stirred into consciousness by other than the inanimate manifestations of the simple nature in which they lived. They were becoming a new race of men and women, having new eyes and new hearts. Most deliciously novel of all was the discovery that

> " All things that are young have life anew
> Where my sweet maiden wanders; but parched and withered seem
> When she departeth, lawn and shepherd too."

Love in these haunts is beginning faintly to be what a later world would find it to be:

> " She cometh, by the quivering of mine eye.
> I'll lean against the pine tree here and sing.
> She may look round."

Here is wooing in its earliest efforts. And although in these idylls of Theocritus, courtship does not grow beyond the piping of a ditty and the offer of a goat with its twin kids, yet the skies and the winds, the fountains and the rocks, the grapes and the flowers of his Sicily—

> " Sea-blue swallow-wort, and there
> The pale-hued maidenhair, with parsley green
> And vagrant marsh-flowers— "

these are tuning the young Sicilian shepherds and shepherdesses to modes of amorous susceptibility more mysterious and more perturbing than anything of which the Roman citizen was to become conscious. The Sicilian shepherd might well be wrought to urge that as the net is the bane of the stag, so love is that of man: but he would not dream of denying its power.

Still less could Shakespeare dispose of love in Petruchio's way. For by Shakespeare's age the faint experience of Sicilian

shepherds had been widely extended, largely diversified, and substantially deepened by mystic and by knight, by courtier and by poet, until men were now so born that to love romantically was a natural prompting. In Virgil's day, a man might break faith with his love, and yet preserve his virtue without spot. What the Romans meant by loving occupied us extensively when the *Comedy of Errors* was our theme. Before them, even amongst the classic Greeks, love was not what later ages found it to be: once one overcomes the shock of a brutal phrase, one might agree that even Sappho's is but a sublimation of physical sensation. But Roman love bears still more potent signs of its nature. In the modern sense, the Romans were lovers hardly at all; they passed too easily from animal man to the status of men of the world. Love was a bodily experience of sex or a fashionable manner of gallantry, and even if the shade of Catullus should hear such a description, he more than another would understand its meaning. Nothing could more simply indicate the immeasurable distance between Roman and Elizabethan sentiment than their titles for Æneas, who to the Romans was the predestined founder of their race, and to the Elizabethans was the paramour of Dido. To the one people he is "pius Æneas"; to the other, he is "the false Troyan." Theocritus permits us to guess how the world will move from one of these judgments to the other which seems its antipodes.

Shakespeare's country was even more potent than the countryside of which Theocritus had sung, to prompt in man the fancies and the sentiments which turn him easily to love. Here, as in Sicily, were hill and dale, bush and brier. Here were banks

> "where the wild thyme blows,
> Where oxlips and the nodding violet grows,
> Quite over-canopied with luscious woodbine,
> With sweet musk-roses and with eglantine."

England's cowslips were golden cups, spotted with rich rubies, and a pearl of dew hung in each. Its woodlands were carpeted with thick primrose beds, and its springtime outrivalled that of Theocritus in greenery: the song of the lark in the season when wheat is green and hawthorn buds appear, roused English villages betimes to do observances to the month of May. The

fields are asparkle with the dewdrop's liquid pearl: the woods are lighted with the fiery glow-worm's eyes. Morning has mountain top and western valley filled with music of the hounds,

> "So flew'd, so sanded, and their heads are hung
> With ears that sweep away the morning dew:
> Crook-knee'd and dew-lapp'd like Thessalian bulls;
> Slow in pursuit, but match'd in mouth like bells,
> Each under each. A cry more tunable
> Was never holla'd to, nor cheer'd with horn,
> In Crete, in Sparta, nor in Thessaly."

Its skies are swept with flight of wild geese, startled by the fowler, or with russet-pated choughs, rising and cawing at the gun's report. And evening ushers in the midnight revels on hill, in dale, forest or mead, by paved fountain or by rushy brook, or in the beached margent of the sea, where ringlets are danced in quaint mazes to the whistling of the wind. This is the land of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. But it is none the less England because it is a land of enchantment, where all between the cold moon and the earth is filled with fairy strains. Here the ploughman, lost in sweat, the village maiden skimming milk, and the busy housewife breathless at the churn, are familiar with fairies as with each other. They need but look around, or sit upon a promontory, to hear a mermaid on a dolphin's back, uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath that the rude seas grow civil at her song, and stars shoot madly from their spheres to hear the sea-maids' music. Here indeed is fairyland itself. Even in Sicily, Corin could not but play all day on pipes of corn, and verse his love to amorous Phillida. But in England, every wood is decked with the very spring of romance, the irresistible source of love itself, the pansy, the little western flower "before milk-white, now purple with love's wound," on which the bolt of Cupid's fiery shaft had fallen. The spell of love was in our countryside, and none could stand against its strange but mighty influence.

It is this which gives meaning to the fairy realm of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. It prepares a place for poets and for lovers. Its world is fairy-ridden, and its inhabitants are apt to the witchery of love. Its natural instruments are magic philtres and mischievous Pucks. It is evanescent as a dream, a mid-

summer fantasia. Yet at the end, its fairy haunts are native England, its people are compatriots of Shakespeare, and under the dominion of Puck and philtre, they are lovers no more volatile and variable than in actual life they were, acting amazedly as if half-asleep, half-waking, seeing things with parted eye when everything seems double. The poet's world of fairy and the lover's rural England are indistinguishably one. Fancy, dream, and fairy are lightly woven for a toy, but, transfigured so together, " they witness more than fancy's images, and grow to something of great constancy." The dream, even the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, takes on a more profound significance for the actual world than any of Shakespeare's earlier plays had had. It recognises the reality of romance. Men must love ; and their love is power and charter to break all opposing ancient privileges. And love refuses to go hand in hand with reason. Its moods and whims are exempt from all constraint but destiny. But providentially, a period is set to its fiercest dominion. It is an episode, a growing pain which cannot be avoided, but which will be outgrown with the ending of the salad days. It passes as the fierce vexation of a dream. The wise man lets his trial teach him patience ; and the doting madness of unhardened youth gone by, he tunes his wedding to another key from that wherein he wooed, changing the feverish intoxication of amorous idolatry for the lasting bond of fellowship in marriage.

A Midsummer Night's Dream is a play of love and of lovers, but it opens only when the nuptial hour is drawing on apace, and Theseus' courtship is already past. Even the Athenian lovers have but a brief four days' nightmare of wooing before they too pass into a maturer life. Theseus has had his wilder gallivantings ; echoes of a Perigenia, a fair Aegle, an Ariadne, and an Antiope sound faintly through the glimmering night of years gone by. But the fever has worked itself out of his blood. He stands now as the normal member of the society of men, still conscious of the natural pulsings in the veins, and choosing the earthlier-happy state of wedlock in preference to mortifying the flesh in thrice-blessed but inhuman tasks to master blood and chant faint hymns to the cold fruitless moon. Theseus stamps his mind on the play. He admits love because it is natural ; but

he circumscribes its scope to lead to marriage, because that has become second nature and so is natural too. From such a point of view, the most romantic lover is no mere freak, and his vagaries present a mirror to the real world. But if at the end of his green youth, he cannot fit his fancies to the will of the world, then a natural experience has occasioned in him a condition of disease. He has cut his teeth, but the gums have festered. One part of life, and that but incidental to the whole of it, is claiming to be the whole, and is thereby damaging other, and certainly no less essential, features of it.

But though Theseus strikes the temper of the play at the outset, and summarises the trend of it at the close, the main incidents in the play present the fashion of romantic love and the ways of romantic lovers. The order of the medley of the *Comedy of Errors* is inverted: there, romantic matter frames a realistic picture, but exercises no control over it. Here a normal temper sits president, whilst romance displays its quality in furious dance, before finally coming up for judgment. So much change is there since the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. The lovers now are not they who impose their valuations of life upon the play. They are themselves on trial, and their scheme of values is submitted to correction at the hands of Theseus. They are in the dock, not on the bench. And though to the unhuman eye of Puck their crime is flagrant folly, to the normal human Theseus it is a kind of foolishness to which all human flesh is heir, and which all mortal eyes will see with sympathy. Hermia and Lysander, Helena and Demetrius as devoutly dote, and with as much romantic idolatry as did ever lovers of whom tale and history tell. They interchange their rhymes and their love-tokens as the manner is. They serenade by moonlight, and employ each coin of the hallowed currency—" bracelets of hair, rings, gawds, conceits, knacks, trifles, nosegays, and sweatmeats." Their love makes heaven of hell, and hell of heaven. Crosses and hellish spight render its course unsmooth. They spend their passion on misprised moods. Their faith is ardent.

> " I'll believe as soon
> The whole earth may be bored and that the moon
> May through the centre creep, and so displease
> Her brother's noontide with the Antipodes,"

says Hermia. This is faith indeed, absolute—and absolutely misplaced. So with the other lovers. Their passions and their preferences are entirely inexplicable. Things base and vile to common view, their love has transposed for them to form and dignity. They sway from deepest loathing to intensest rapture, merely as the blood within then burns or freezes—" hot ice, and wondrous strange snow," very tragical mirth.

Yet despite it all, these lovers do not leave the common earth so entirely as do their earlier romantic counterparts. Antipholus reclines on wisps of Luciana's golden hair spread floating on the sea. Hermia has a firmer couch on yellow primrose beds. Hermia's invocation is not by all the protestations of true lovers in the past, but " by all the vows that ever men have broke, in number more than ever women spoke," an infinitely more substantial body of experience. Indeed, the love of these Athenians is much more a natural mood than a prescribed attitude. It shows itself in jealousies and wranglings as frequently as in devoted protestations. It has its Billingsgate as well as its liturgy : cat, burr, vile serpent, tawny Tartar, dwarf and minimus are as current as goddess, nymph divine and dear, precious, celestial. The lovers themselves know what a frail and fleeting thing true love has been :

> " if ever there were sympathy in choice,
> War, death, or sickness did lay seige to it,
> Making it momentany as a sound,
> Swift as a shadow, short as any dream ;
> Brief as the lightning in the collied night,
> That, in a spleen, unfolds both Heaven and earth,
> And, e'er a man hath power to say " Behold,"
> The jaws of darkness do devour it up :
> So quick bright things come to confusion."

There is little to choose between Demetrius and Lysander ; Demetrius is at first suspect of disloyal escapades, but Lysander's metal is not without good sound dross. Hermia and Helena are much more distinct. They are Shakespeare's first real flappers, straight from a lady's seminary. Helena has sat at her sampler like the prim young maiden of the Pre-Raphaelites, weaving her first love into silken dreams, and endeavouring to restrain her more mettlesome companion from stealing out of the window to

try kisses on the mouth. But school-days are over when the play begins, though assuredly not very far behind. Helena is pale and tall, the traditional emblem of forlorn maiden love, a sweet lady, sweetly doting upon inconstant man. All she asks is to be allowed to fawn and follow her lover as his spaniel. But she is just woman enough to begin to realise that life under such terms is scarcely worth it:

> " What wicked and dissembling glass of mine
> Made me compare with Hermia's sphery eyne? "

The " sphery eyne " look backward to the tapestried samplers and their hallowed archaisms. But the tradition is making way for phrases, modes, and ideals more applicable to the needs and situations of the moment. Helena herself has had enough of it:

> " And now, so you will let me quiet go,
> To Athens will I bear my folly back
> And follow you no further."

But her disillusionment has taught her much of the world. When fate turns love at length towards her, she is worldly-wise enough now to demand effective guarantees before accepting it:

> " You do advance your cunning more and more. . . .
> Weigh oath with oath, and you will nothing weigh.
> Your vows to her and me, put in two scales,
> Will even weigh, and both as light as tales."

Hermia, small, dark and quick of tongue, is even more alive. She is soon driven out of maiden patience, though she is schooling herself to bear with customary crosses. Her temper is as sharp as is her tongue, and excites itself most touchily in matters of her stature and her complexion. She was a vixen when she went to school, and even in the drawing-rooms of the politer world she has not quite mastered her instinct to bring her nails into the fray. The customary comic play of misapprehension and unexpected confusions in the scene where the four lovers are at odds, is enormously enhanced by the sprightly sketch of the girlish moods and the feline attitudes of Hermia's jealousy.

But when the lovers have played out the fond pageant of youth, their human nature will be the power which brings them to health and natural taste.

" The country proverb known
That every man shall take his own,
Jack shall have Jill,
Nought shall go ill,
The man shall have his mare again and all shall go well."

At all events, so much are we bidden to take on trust. As an article of faith, it is made easier of acceptance when Titania and Oberon have revealed the disadvantages of houseless, undomesticated fairyland. Their term of courtship is ended. But, inhabiting the air from pole to pole, they are exempt from the constraints of housekeeping. Acorn-cups impose no fellowship. There is nothing to compound mere whim and vagary. In a house on earth, presumably it little matters whether the Indian boy be known as master's or as mistress's servant. But in fairyland such problems do not settle themselves. Mere personal preference and mood are left in entire control of fairy life. Affection follows fancy, and the consequent state of sentimental anarchy is never ordered by obligation to the world. Titania and Oberon are, of course, the better fairies for their lack of human principles in their behaviour. But the more fairy, the less fitted for the responsibilities of the settled human institution of marriage.

The exposure of Oberon and Titania's conjugal relationship is comedy fulfilling its natural function, glorifying those settled institutions of man's social existence which owe their persistence to mankind's experience that such as these make for his welfare in the substantial problem of living life in the world as the world is. Marriage is to the comic dramatist the beneficient arrangement through which mankind achieves a maximum of human joy and a minimum of social disability. Of course, at a later stage comedy may look to proportionately minor disadvantages in the social habit of marriage and monogamy: but its first law is to insist on the common sense of the settled habit, and only later will it suggest possible and relatively minor modifications of that habit. Shakespeare will justify the world's practice, Shaw will suggest minor adaptations, or even plead that the real world itself has developed qualities requiring, on the same grounds of common sense, a complete overhauling of hitherto

conventional and fixed practices. At all events, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, wedlock and housekeeping are imposed on man for his advantage ; and the advantage as a social being he gains thereby is made patent by setting beside him the undomesticated irresponsible beings of fairyland. Fairy whim was not even to be trusted to prefer its own authentic king to the monstrous, gross Bottom with the ass's head. And even so, its precious Bottom would have soon revolted against a fairy wife, who, when he pined for bread, offered him a stone—emerald, pearl, or diamond, though it should be.

Hence it comes that Bottom and his fellows are as much a part of the play as are Titania and Oberon, or the Athenian lovers. The spirit of the earth which stirs men's sentiments for nature, producing thence the fairies of its folk-lore, and the springtides which turn men's thoughts to love, has brought forth also, as its most material children, these rustics of the countryside. Like Costard, they are straight from the bosom of Mother Earth, and though, for the nonce, they have left the plough for mechanic labours on Athenian stalls, they are still but countrymen and villagers.

And Bottom is sufficient assurance that, though nature makes men liable to love, it gives them also so much mortal grossness that man can never distil himself to a mere airy spirit. Sublimation has its visible limits. Bottom, transported to the lap of an adoring queen of faery, has enough of earth about him to preserve his native self. He is at home anywhere, and turns fairyland to his own needs as Shakespeare has now learnt to turn romance to his. Nothing finally perturbs Bottom. The strangest and most perplexing experiences have no power to alter his essential nature, but merely serve to give additional strength to it. The fairy queen may stick musk-roses in his sleek, smooth head, but he will only take advantage of the scene to call up Peaseblossom, and Cobweb, and Mustardseed to ease him of an itching. No dulcet sound of fairy song will lure him from his preference for tongs and bones. And although he will regale himself on fairy dishes of apricocks and dewberries, he will not fail to order the complementary course, the pecks of the provender on which he naturally subsists. He is, of course, a clown. But it is clownage

sufficient for its day. It completes the guarantee for the world's security which Theseus has offered.

From the earliest days, Bottom has been accepted as the best piece of characterisation in *A Midsummer Night's Dream;* the Restoration, in fact, cut the play to the pranks of bully Bottom. But he is the most substantial character because Shakespeare's apprehension has laid more certain hold of him than of the other figures in the play. That is another way of saying that, as a man, he means more to Shakespeare than do the others. He is, to the dramatist, the tangible person who provides in the flesh and in life what the mind of Theseus was to provide in theory and in conjecture about life.

Sanity, cool reason, common sense, is the pledge of Theseus against the undue ravages of fancy and of sentiment in human nature. But in Bottom the place of this intellectual temper is supplied by the crude native matter of human instinct. Bottom is a bigger part of the world than is a Lysander or a Demetrius, and always will be, for he has, above all, the instinct which makes for the preservation of his species. He will take command in any, the most unexpected situation, and will impose his will on his fellows or on his superiors. Even when he has been killed upon the stage he will rise again with his "No, I assure you," and set the world to rights. He has supreme confidence in himself, and in his ability to play any part in life or in theatricals. And this is no mere overweening conceit, for schemes collapse when he withdraws. The world is safe so long as it produces men like Bottom, for its inhabitants will never be permitted to get completely out of touch with earth, will never be allowed to forget the conditions which real life imposes on actual livers of it. Earth and the world take visible human form in his huge bulk before men's eyes, and in such way that it sharpens their sense of humour, of the difference between what man is, and what he vainly pretends himself to be.

Hence the substance in the seemingly unsubstantial cloud-world of *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* At first glance it appears but as a light excursion into the realms of pure romance, where fairies dance and lovers woo, and magic philtres are the dispensers of fate. Yet the intellectual foundations of it all are

embodied in the unromantic worldly realism of Theseus. But it is the realism of an English and an Elizabethan mind, not one of classical Roman comedy. It is the temper of a landed gentry, rather than the outlook of a man about town. It is more humane, more representative, and more sympathetic. Roman comedy bolstered a limited society ; it was a defence of the customs and conventions of a narrow social group—the citizens, who even so, were only a minority of the inhabitants of their city. But the comedy in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* looks to the preservation of the whole human race as human beings rather than to the maintenance of a particular social caste. It comprehends the court, the city, and the country. It seeks for what contributes to this larger fellowship of man, rather than for what is discordant with the conventions of a class. It values the normal in mankind at large much more than mere propriety in a particular clique. It lifts comedy from concern with the merely unconventional in manners to envisage the more vital incongruities in personality itself.

> Lovers and madmen have such seething brains,
> Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend
> More than cool reason ever comprehends.
> The lunatic, the lover and the poet
> Are of imagination all compact :
> One sees more devils than vast hell can hold,
> That is the madman : the lover, all as frantic,
> Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt :
> The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
> Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven ;
> And as imagination bodies forth
> The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
> Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothings
> A local habitation and a name.
> Such tricks hath strong imagination,
> That, if it would but apprehend some joy,
> It comprehends some bringer of that joy,
> Or, in the night, imagining some fear,
> How easy is a bush supposed a bear.

In this speech, Shakespeare formulates in set terms his first conscious notion of the comic idea, and adds tersely a summary illustration of its value by recalling one of the homeliest, most familiar and most general of common experiences. Grown man,

as the play has shown us, is liable to be distracted by vagaries whose source is his fancy or his emotion. For these are apt to subdue his cool reason and his intuitive common sense. They distort his view of things as things are; like a lover, he sees Helen's fair classic beauty in a gypsy's coarse brown visage; or like a lunatic, he not only sees real things awry, but imagines he sees things which are not; or like a poet, subject to the ills of both, he gives substantial reality to mere figments of his uncontrolling brain. But even the most commonplace of mortals, one neither born to be a great lover nor destined to utter a line of verse, may from his own life realise the harm of poets' and lovers' qualities. He will recall the evening in his childhood when at dusk he had the last half mile of a country lane to traverse in the gloom; he will remember the starts and the shocks endured when the shade of a tree took the shape of lurking footpad, when the rustle of the leaves seemed like pursuing footsteps—and all the myriad other perturbations he suffered through the false creations of his own fancy and of his own fears.

> "Or in the night imagining some fear
> How easy is a bush supposed a bear."

These, his common sense will clearly tell him, are features arising from his inability at the moment to control his fancy and his feeling by his cool reason: they are disturbances likely to prevent his competent dealing with circumstance, whether that circumstance be a walk along a country lane at dusk, or whether it be a major episode in a bigger life. Indeed, he may go beyond Shakespeare's illustration. He may recognise that the erratic vision which makes a bush a bear, is just as likely to fail in the converse situation, and mistake a bear for a bush. It needs no imagination at all to grasp at once, not how perturbing, but how fatal such an error is likely to be. At once, he sees that mere survival in the world depends upon man's ability to differentiate rapidly and certainly between bears and bushes, and thus perceives that the attribute of supreme value in the world is the "cool reason" which comprehends things as things are: that men without cool reason, who are the sport of seething brains and of the tumultuous frenzies of fancy and of sentiment, are

the victims of the world, and the butts of its comedy. Comedy, leading its action to a happy ending, leaving its characters at the end in harmony with the world, is bound to put its highest values on qualities which make for worldly happiness and success. With Theseus, the philosophy of comedy is finding its voice, and his " cool reason " is its prevailing spirit.

A Midsummer Night's Dream is Shakespeare's first comic masterpiece. In its technical aspect, it is the work of a master of language and of plot: but its greatest attainment is that embodied in it, the controlling power shaping its form and texture, there is this first considerable apprehension of the enduring attitude of comedy, the spirit which gives to comedy its vital significance for man and endows it with the permanence of a fine art.

FROM ORPHEUS TO CICERO.

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IN the title of this lecture the name of Cicero may seem strange in combination with that of one who is familiar to all of us as the hero of a beautiful and tragic myth which, like his name, we are accustomed to attribute to Greek sources. Orpheus and Eurydice, you say, both must be Greek; and did he not come from Thrace? Did he not descend to fetch his wife from the Underworld through one of its famous mouths on Greek soil, the cave of Mount Taenarus? Did he not meet his death on the great river of Thrace, the Hebrus? What has he to do with Italy or Cicero? That is a question which might naturally be asked by any schoolboy who had read the story told in the Fourth Book [1] of Vergil's *Georgics*, and it is one to which I must begin by giving an answer.

First we must acknowledge one sad truth, though nowadays it will hardly surprise you. Just as Betsy Prig shocked Mrs. Gamp by declaring that there was "no sich a person" as the famous "Mrs. 'Arris," so Aristotle,[2] in his brief way, assures us that the poet Orpheus never existed.

Suidas [3] tells us that there were at least five persons who used the name, six, if you count as two one person who is given a double origin; and out of these five, four are described as having written epic poems. Two of the five are comparatively well-known people, Orpheus of Croton in South Italy, who is mentioned as a friend of Pisistratus, the great tyrant of Athens in

[1] Although, as we know from Servius, it was really an earlier poem put into that Book to make up for its original conclusion, destroyed because of a political tragedy.

[2] Quoted by Cicero, *Nat. Deor.* i. 38. 108.

[3] See Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, p. 64. 223 from Diels' *Vorsokr.* II³, 163. 1.

560 B.C., and Orpheus of Camarina in Sicily, who wrote a 'Descent into Hell'. One more is said to have come from Arcadia or from Kikone in Thrace, and one more from another part of Thrace (Odrysae), and one from Macedonia (Leibethra).

Any of you who may be familiar with the tradition given by Pindar in his Fourth Pythian will perhaps tell me that, at all events, Orpheus must have been as real a person as Jason, because he went with the Argonauts; but we cannot allow even this degree of reality without question; for a most respectable critic called Pherecydes, of the fifth century B.C., tells us that it was not Orpheus but somebody called Philammon who went with Jason. In short, if one puts together all the legends about Orpheus one feels that it is they and not the Thracian Bacchants that have really torn him into small pieces. The truth is that the name 'Orpheus' seems to have been a kind of professional epithet like 'Doctor' or 'Reverend', applied to persons who wrote poems on Orphic subjects, which were always of a religious character. I cannot suppose that the last word has been said about the growth of this religion; for if, as seems pretty certain, there was no one person called Orpheus to found it, who did found it, and where? And how did he or they learn its substance, and whence? From Egypt or from further East? There seems much to be said for thinking with Von Schröder and Furtwängler (*Ant. Gemmen.* III (1900), p. 262, footn. 2; p. 263, footn. 4) that the ethical essence of the Orphic doctrine was due to Pythagoras, drawing from Indian sources.

There is, however, no doubt that the story of Orpheus grew up on Greek soil; but in the sixth century B.C. and later we must remember that Greek soil included a multitude of active and wealthy cities in Italy and Sicily, so that that region was known by the name of Greater Greece, and recent study, I think, has made it certain that the roots of this Orphic religion, at all events those which took most kindly to life, were not in the mainland of Greece, still less in Thrace; but deeply set in South Italy; and the legends of a personal founder of that religion were gradually developed in the hands of many verse writers who were adherents of the Orphic cult. Besides the two who actually called themselves Orpheus, in Croton and in

Camarina respectively, we know of four other poets from Greater Greece [1] who wrote on Orphic subjects. We know from Pindar [2] that Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum, was connected with the Orphic religion, and Pausanias [3] tells us that a statue of Orpheus was erected at Olympia by Mikythos of Rhegium, who was banished in 476 B.C. from Sicily to Tegea ; and Pausanias in that passage describes Orpheus as 'the Thracian'. If that name actually was on the statue, it was the earliest mention of his connexion with Thrace. This is a very dull list ; but it seemed necessary to show how strong is the evidence connecting the very beginnings of the legend with Italy rather than with Greece in the narrower sense ; and it is quite certain, as we shall see, that the great spread of the Orphic religion took place in Italy, where it has left behind peculiar and interesting documents, some of which we will examine.

The German scholar, Otto Kern, to whose treatise on Orpheus (1920), with his admirable collection of the Orphic Fragments (1922), I am greatly indebted, has shown that there are at least three different stages in the development of what we may call the Orpheus-myth. The central and most universal conception of him is that he was an inspired singer or poet, for the two terms were used, as we all know, interchangeably in Greek and Latin writers ; and that his song was so much more powerful than that of ordinary singers as to give him miraculous power over objects of nature, birds and beasts, and rocks and trees, who were all subdued by the beauty of his song. That is Orpheus in his first shape, and with this Kern and others very plausibly connect the derivation of his name, which they link with the Greek word ὀρφανός [4] (Latin *orbus*), to mean a solitary

[1] Timocles of Syracuse, Zopyros of Heraclea, Nikias of Elea, and Brontinus of Metapontum, besides the Pythagorean philosopher Kercops, who wrote another 'Descent into Hades' and a 'Hieros Logos', which may be the one that Herodotus (2. 81) speaks of. See O. Kern, *Orpheus* (1920), p. 3.

[2] *Olymp.* 2. 56-80, dating from 476 B.C. [3] 5. 26. 3.

[4] The evidence of the story of the cult seems to me to support this derivation better than one which I was taught by the late Professor E. B. Cowell, connecting it with the Sanskrit word *Ṛbhu-*, a poet, wizard, or clever elf. But the two do not seem necessarily inconsistent, though my knowledge of Sanskrit literature is too limited for me to judge.

person who loved to live in the deserts or wild mountain valleys ; and the name of his father Oeagros, which properly means ' the man of the lonely field ', suggests the same connexion.

Next, however, comes a feature in the story which is certainly closely connected with the nature of the Orphic rites. These mysteries were concerned with preparation for the life of the Underworld ; and people who were initiated into them on earth were encouraged to expect great advantages after death. The subject of most of the poems connected with the sect seems to have been the nature of the world below. Several of them are entitled Katabasis, that is, the descent into the Lower World. Now if the followers of Orpheus wrote like this, it is obvious that they would attribute to their supposed master, as we know they did, special knowledge of the infernal regions, and a personal visit to them by himself might well be a poetical expression of this. But here comes the saddest part of my confession.

In none of the earliest accounts of that journey, nor indeed in any of the fragments of the Orphic literature proper, is there any mention of the wife of Orpheus ; and when she does appear, some authors call her Eurydice, and some call her Agriope ; and none of the earlier writers leave any doubt in our minds that Orpheus succeeded in getting her back alive. Thus Hermesianax (who floruit about 300 B.C.) says definitely, in a fragment of 14 lines preserved by Athenaeus (xiii. 597*b*) that by his singing Orpheus persuaded the great lords of the Underworld to let Agriope ' win the breath of soft life ' (*μαλακοῦ πνεῦμα λαβεῖν βιότου*). Even Plato,[1] though he prudently opines that it was only a ghost that Orpheus saw and not the real wife, gives no hint whatever of his having failed through his looking back. So it appears that the whole pretty story which Vergil has made immortal, and Glück, in the eighteenth century, set to famous music, was the invention of the Hellenistic Roman Age, somewhere, that is, in the third or second century B.C. ; and seeing the close connexion between Sicily and Alexandria and the abundance and popularity of Orphic writings in South Italy and Sicily, Kern can hardly be wrong in concluding that the story was invented there and not in Greece proper at all.

[1] *Sympos.* 179*d*.

Thirdly, we have the tragic legend of the death of Orpheus in Thrace after his expedition to the Underworld. Here there is another definite link between the legend and the Orphic religion, which was pointed out by as early an authority as Proklos,[1] the ancient commentator on Plato. Writing in the times of the new Platonists, who made a good deal of Orphism, Proklos points out that Orpheus having become the leader of the mysterious rites of Dionysus, is said to have suffered the same fate as did that deity, namely of being torn in pieces; and we know that Aeschylus, in his play of the *Bassarides*, represents Orpheus as a Greek who preached and sang of Apollo to the Thracians and was torn to pieces by Thracian Bacchants who were worshipping Dionysus. It appears to have been a drama in which Aeschylus depicted, and no doubt confirmed, a reconciliation in religion. Just as in the *Oresteia* he reconciled the worship of Athena with the older worship of the Eumenides, so in this Thracian trilogy of the *Lycurgia* he used the death of Orpheus as an incident in reconciling the more or less competing claims of Apollo and Dionysus.

But I must not dwell upon the Greek side[2] of the Orphic traditions, for, as Comnenus pathetically remarked 900 years ago, 'it is impossible to get to the end of them'; and the fate of several eminent scholars in recent years who have embarked on this almost uncharted sea of speculation about prehistoric religion in Greece is a sufficient warning to any less qualified person. The evidence from Italy, however, so far as it goes, is concrete, less ancient, and not difficult to date; and it has a direct bearing on religious history.

From the first the teachers of Orphism in Italy were what we should call highly moral. They believed in a kind of conditional immortality which was attained either by a life of purity on earth or, in the end, by processes of purification in the after-life. There is no doubt that Vergil's well-known account of this

[1] *In Remp.* 398 (W. Kroll, Teubner, 1899, I, p. 174): τῶν Διονύσου τελετῶν ἡγεμὼν γενόμενος τὰ ὅμοια παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν μύθων εἴρηται τῷ σφετέρῳ θεῷ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ σπαραγμὸς τῶν Διονυσιακῶν ἔν ἐστιν συνθημάτων.

[2] For an interesting account of this side of the question I am indebted to a lecture on *Orphic Literature and Doctrine* by Prof. J. F. Dobson of Bristol (privately printed for the London Branch of the Classical Association, 1919). "Homer," he observes, "knew no Purgatory, whereas Orpheus knew no Hell."

purgation represents the Orphic traditions fairly closely and resembles that of Plato, save that it is free from the curious arithmetical and astronomical stamp which it received in the teaching of two great mathematicians, Pythagoras and Plato; but as early as the time of Plato [1] there had been built into Orphism what the good Charles Kingsley called "those comfortable back-stairs," [2] that is, a short cut into Heaven, to be obtained, not indeed without trouble, but by ascetic discipline on earth under the direction and, mostly, the well-remunerated direction, of Orphic priests. In another lecture I have given some evidence for believing that the Etruscans proceeded still further to debase this doctrine by supposing that a man's fortunes in Purgatory could be affected by sacrifices and offerings made on earth, even after his death, by persons acting on his behalf.[3] But there is nothing in the accounts we have of Orphism to suggest that the orthodox initiate in that faith could rely on any other performance than his own. Yet how popular these Orphic "back-stairs" were in South Italy, at all events among the wealthy, we know from some remarkable evidence which has been discovered in recent years.

There is first the epitaph of the fifth century B.C. from Cumae in which the initiate boldly declares, if this reading of the inscription [4] can be trusted, that since he has been initiated, it is

[1] Rep. II, 364 (*e*).

[2] *The Water Babies*, Headley Bros., London (1908), p. 254.

[3] *Etruscan Influence on Roman Religion*, p. 14, footn. 2.

[4] See Sogliano, *Not. Scav.*, 1905, ii., p. 377, who describes the stone as having a shape which shows that it was the lid of a tomb: ου θεμις εντουθα κεισθαι με τον βεβαχχευμενον. This interpretation seems to me reasonably certain, as to Sogliano and the editors of the 1925 Liddell & Scott; the only possible point of doubt is a superfluous stroke (κεισθαιι instead of κεισθαι). But to regard this as a contraction of κεῖσθαι with a following εἰ and render 'no one but an initiate must occupy this tomb', as Otto Hoffmann (Bechtel-Collitz, *Samml. Griech. Dial. Inschrr.*, iv., p. 85) proposed, seems to me wildly improbable, in substance (for tombs were not commonly used by any save members of the household of the person first interred), and still more in language; can any other example of such a contraction in prose be produced? It is true that Wissowa, whose opinion on all matters of ancient religion commands universal respect, assumed that the stone did not belong to a particular grave, but either to a large chamber or vault or enclosed area, and quoted one similar example from Rome which the editors of the Corpus (*C.I.L.*, vi. 10412) take as possibly the monument

1. Gold Necklace and Case for Orphic certificate from Petelia (p. 73)

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forbidden by the law of Heaven (θέμις) that he should lie in the grave. Besides this we have a whole series of documents discovered in the extreme south of Italy on the sites of Thurii and Petelia, two of which are now in the British Museum. If you go into the Gold Ornament Room of the Græco-Roman Department you will find two little bits of gold leaf or gold plate (numbered 3154 and 3155 respectively) covered with writing scratched upon them; and beside one of them is a gold necklace to which is attached the little cylindrical box in which the gold leaf was found folded up, the whole having come from a tomb (see the photograph).

What are these curious objects? They were clearly worn on the person, in life, death and burial. And since they were written on gold, it is also clear that they were dearly cherished; but it is obvious that no poor person need apply for one.[1] The earliest of these cannot possibly be dated later, from the form of the letters, than 300 B.C.; and, as we shall see, some go down into the Christian period.

They take various forms. Some of them have no particular

of a Christian, and for which they accept Rossi's date, based on the style of the lettering, as belonging to the end of the second century A.D. This inscription tells us that the *monumentum* was built for the freedmen and freedwomen of certain persons with Græco-Roman names *at* (i.e. *ad*) *religionem pertinentes meam;* and adds that a space of two feet all the way round outside the monument belongs to it. The inscription that precedes it (vi. 10411) is obviously one of the same class, because it ends with the words *religionis homines*, and says that the man who built it (*T. Aelius Victorinus*) has built it as a sacred place (*locus religiosus*) for the burial of their bodies. Now these inscriptions were found in Rome at a date at which there is at least considerable doubt as to what *religio* means; and in any case, they are six centuries and a half later than our inscription from Cumae. Further, we know about them, what at Cumae is at least doubtful, that they related to a monument or area in which there was room for many interments; and thirdly, the authors of these inscriptions express themselves in positive, not negative terms. It appears to me, therefore, that while on the religious side, the interpretation of the Cumae inscription may be regarded as open to a certain doubt, it is best to trust to the distinct linguistic evidence and accept Sogliano's interpretation, unless and until another example is produced from the fifth century B.C. of such an extraordinary contraction as Hoffmann supposes, or of the single letter ι being written with the meaning of ει.

[1] Plato, in his scornful description of the practices of persons professing to be in possession of Orphic secrets (*Repub.* ii., 363(*b*)-364(*e*)), says that they went about hawking their magical charms 'at rich men's doors'.

reference to the candidate for immortality, who took them with him or with her (mostly with her, I suspect) to the grave; they simply recited some part of the story of Proserpine, whose annual resurrection was regarded in the Orphic teaching as a type of what an Orphic worshipper might look for. One of these [1] was found in 1879 on the site of the ancient Thurii. It is very difficult to read, largely because it is written in the magical fashion with a considerable number of repeated words; but the careful restoration by Diels [2] is very probable and makes good sense. It runs thus:—

'To Earth, the first mother of all, thus spake [3] the daughter of Cybele: O Sun, O Fire, thou takest thy way through all the cities, when thou hast appeared in Victories and Chances and Fate, the supreme disposer, with whom thou dost make rich thy gardens in thy sovereignty, O famous god; by thee all things are tamed and all are mastered, and all are filled with the lightning of fire. Everywhere decrees of Fate must be endured. Do thou, O Fire, take me to my mother if I have learnt to endure fasting and to pass seven nights and days fasting without food. In thy honour I passed seven days without food, O Zeus of Olympus, Zeus that seest all, O Sun.'

[There follow two or three broken lines in which it would seem that she prays to be delivered (or declares that she has been delivered) from the 'fiery flood' and from the 'plain of Rhadamanthus':]

I have given this interesting fragment in an absolutely literal prose version. The most striking feature of it is thoroughly characteristic of Orphic teaching, their persistent attempt to identify [4] all the gods. Thus at the beginning of this extract Proserpine is called the daughter of Cybele; but she addresses Earth as her mother, and refers also to Demeter and Zeus. Then she turns to the Sun, whom she identifies with Fire, and appar-

[1] Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, Berlin, 1922, Fragment 47.

[2] *Vorsokratiker*, vol. ii., ed. 3, 177, No. 21 (see below, p. 86). I omit the lines which are hopelessly mutilated.

[3] There follows a broken line in which she mentions Demeter and all-seeing Zeus; and although the speech is represented as addressed to her mother, she in fact calls upon the Sun in the line which follows the break.

[4] Euripides had complete sympathy with this attempt, as appears from a striking passage in the *Helena*, 1302-40, where he calls Demeter the mother of the gods and of Zeus, and concludes by praising the power of the Bacchic orgies (1364). The reference I owe to Dr. L. R. Farnell in Hastings' *Encyc. Rel. and Ethics*. Euripides was followed by Aratus (*Phaen.*, ll. 2-5), the last line of which was quoted by Paul in his sermon at Athens—τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.

ently proceeds to identify All-seeing Zeus of Olympus with him too ; and it certainly seems as if Victories and Fortunes and Fate, who help the Sun to beautify his gardens, cannot be far removed from being identified with him. Macrobius (1. 18. 18, and indeed the whole chapter) and other authorities preserve for us what seems to have been a favourite maxim of the Orphic ritual, a single line of jingle which may be rendered ' Zeus and Pluto both are one, one with Bacchus and the Sun', and another version includes the Egyptian Sarapis in place of Bacchus. Among other things, Macrobius points out that Vergil recognises [but in his own undogmatic way] the identification of Bacchus and Ceres with the Sun and Moon in the exordium of the *Georgics* (i. 7) :—

> Vos, O clarissima mundi
> Lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum,
> Liber et alma Ceres, uestro si munere tellus
> Chaoniam pingui glandem mutauit arista

Note the Vergilian ' if '. Elsewhere [1] I have tried to trace more fully the effect of these amalgamations.

Now come back to the fourth century B.C., and turn to what may be called documents with more practical objects—though unpractical enough from our modern point of view ! If the fragment from Thurii which I have rendered may be called a quotation from the narrative portion of the Orphic Scriptures, the documents that we are now to examine may be compared to certificates of baptism, though they have been called ' Passports to Heaven ', as they are in intention. They are also of gold and belong to much the same period as the Thurii tablet. The earliest [2] of them, even allowing for intentional archaism, can hardly be later than the fourth century B.C.

Let us take three examples in their chronological order. The first I have made up from two other tablets from Thurii, of very similar purport (32 (*e*) and 32 (*c*) in Kern's *Fragmenta*), which

[1] In the fourth lecture of a volume, now in the press, entitled *Ancient Italy and Modern Religion*, being the Hibbert Lectures for 1932.

[2] This is 32 (*c*) in Kern's collection (641. 1 in Kaibel, *Inscc. Graecae Italiae et Siciliae*) ; it shows, for instance, the single sign *o* for *o*, *ω* and *ov*, see p. 87.

happen to be mutilated, one at the end and one soon after the beginning, so that they complement each other quite well. In both of them the initiated soul speaks herself, and she is of the feminine gender :—

32 (*e*). Pure, I come from the pure, O Queen of the Kingdom below,
Hermes and Pluto and all ; bear witness to that which ye know.
For I can boast to belong to the same happy race as do ye,
And for aught that was wrong in my deeds I have paid the full price to be free.

. . . . . .

32 (*c*). As on wings I have soared far out from the treadmill of toil and of pain,
And eagerly rising I entered the beautiful garden again.
Safe I lay hid in the womb of our Queen that ruleth below,
Till forth from the beautiful garden [1] she suffered me eager to go.
Like a lamb that has plunged in the milk-pail I joyed in their welcome to me,
" O blessed, O happy, no longer a mortal, but god thou shalt be."

The curious comparison in the last sentence I take to embody a shepherd's proverb for a misfortune unexpectedly turning to great good, and the reference to the ' treadmill ' (Greek κύκλος) four lines before, implies the characteristic Orphic doctrine of purification through a long cycle of human existences, each followed by a period of purgation ; ' longa dies perfecto temporis orbe ' as Vergil puts it.

The next is perhaps a little later in date, probably between 300 and 200 B.C., Kern, 32 (*a*), found on the site of the ancient Petelia. It is one of the two in the British Museum which I have already described. Its style is, on the whole, more dignified than that of those I have just rendered, and this I have tried to indicate by a different metre. Prof. Gilbert Murray (in the Appendix to Dr. Jane Harrison's *Prolegomena*, p. 661), says quite justly : " the dialect is pure literary epic." (See the photograph, p. 86.)

[1] The mystical image which I have rendered by ' beautiful garden ', ἱμερτὸς στέφανος, which the soul says she has first entered and then left, having meanwhile hidden ὑπὸ κόλπον of Proserpine, is taken by Kern, with Eitrem (*Opferritus u. Voropfer*, p. 54), and Dr. Jane Harrison (*Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, p. 594), to refer to the circle of some sacred dance practised on earth by the priests who initiated the candidate for Orphic privileges. This suits ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι excellently ; but as a preliminary and sequel to a re-birth it seems rather puzzling, like so much else in the magical formulae of all ages.

32 (*a*). By Pluto's Palace, on the left, thou'lt see
A stream beside a white-leaved cypress tree.
From that stream guard thyself and draw not near ;
Another thou shalt find from Memory's mere,
Fount of cool waters flowing clear and free ;
Before which stand the guards, to whom from thee
Is due this prayer : " Earth and starry heaven
Begat me ; yet that now to me is given
Pure heavenly birth, ye know as well as I.
But I am parched with thirst and like to die ;
Come, give me quick a draught to quench my fear,
Cool waters flowing free from Memory's mere."
That divine stream to quaff they'll grant thee fain,
Thenceforth with all the heroes thou shalt reign.

The last example,[1] probably from Rome, the second of the two in the British Museum (32 (*g*) in Kern's *Fragmenta*) is much later, belonging to the second century A.D. It was no doubt purchased by or for a noble lady called Caecilia Secundina, whose name indicates that she was, in all probability, a relative of the younger Pliny, Publius Caecilius Secundus as he was called before his adoption by Pliny the Elder. In this case the author of the certificate puts the words into the mouth of some infernal (or supernal) officer at the gate, an Orphic St. Peter, who addresses Proserpine, Pluto and Hermes (though the Greek rather suggests that he regarded them all as one) assuring them that he has received the proper passport. He then turns to Caecilia herself and formally admits her, declaring that she has now been born into divine estate. It is brief, and no doubt seemed highly satisfactory to the good lady who purchased it ; though one may doubt if she would have been as well satisfied if she had known that it would continue to decorate her mortal remains for 1700 years.

32 (*g*). Pure, she comes from the pure, O Queen of the realm of the dead,
Jove's fair child and wise Pluto, and thou by whose hand she was led.
See, there is given me duly this token from memory's pen,
For in song her people remember the life that she lived among men.
Thou hast travelled, Caecilia Scundina, the path that by rule must be trod,
So enter the kingdom rejoicing, new born to the life of a god.[2]

[1] See the note on this tablet in Appendix I to this lecture (p. 87).

[2] Anyone who is at the trouble to compare this version with the Greek (on p. 87) will see that the slight expansion it has suffered at my hands is justified by the preceding examples or by the etymology of the Greek names. If Euklees

The date of this tablet is the most important point. Here we have a cult [1] which has lasted in Italy for over four centuries; a religious cult of a wholly individualistic character having no connexion with any social or political duty, and inculcating with emphasis if not a monotheistic religion, at least what one may call a zeuktotheistic creed. As to the railway porter "cats is dogs and rabbits is dogs," so to the Orphic believer, Jove and Pluto and Bacchus and Proserpine, Demeter and Cybele and Sarapis, each is as good as the other.

From these records of Orphic beliefs in Southern Italy it may seem a long step to the sober suggestions of a practical thinker, or even to the imaginative but finished picture round which a great poet built his national epic. Of Vergil's Apocalypse in the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid* I must not now repeat what I have said elsewhere; [2] but in passing we may note that in spite of Vergil's

means Pluto and Pluto only, then we have here only two epithets of the same person; but since Hesychius tells us that Eukolos meant Hermes at Metapontum, and since Euklos is distinguished from at least two kinds of Jupiter in the list of Samnite deities found at Agnone (*Italic Dialects*, 175), it is, perhaps, better not to assume that the identity of Euklees and Eubouleus (Pluto) was felt by any but the Orphic authorities. The curious may note with amusement the drastic suppression of the first vowel of the lady's second name, to meet the requirements of the Hexameter.

[1] For a long time it was held that the spacious and costly buildings of the house known as the Villa Item at Pompeii, more popularly known as the House of the Mysteries, was connected with Orphism; Rostovtzeff, indeed, in the second chapter of his *Mystic Italy* (1927), gave an elaborate interpretation from this point of view of the paintings (or most of them) in the chief room of the villa. The style of the paintings belongs, so he and other archæologists are agreed, to the period between 80 B.C. and 14 A.D. But although at one or two points in the series of paintings their connexion with Dionysus (as a god of fertility) is clear, the nature of the whole series has now been placed beyond doubt by Miss Jocelyn Toynbee's admirable paper in *J. Rom. Stud.*, xix. (1929), p. 67, who has shown that it represents what she rightly describes as "a bride's ordeal," namely, a mystic process of preparing for a happy marriage, in the course of which the rite of flagellation, as it is called, occupied an important part. This curious old-world superstition survived in the practice of the Luperci at Rome, and down to the time of Pausanias at all events, in the flogging of the ἔφηβοι at the altar of Orthia. A German writer, Margarete Bieber, reached very much the same conclusion almost simultaneously (*Jahrb. Deutsch. Archaeol. Inst. Rom.*, xliii., pp. 298-330). These interesting pictures, therefore, are remote from our present subject.

[2] *New Studies of a Great Inheritance* (1921), chapter vi. ("The Growth of the Underworld").

silence on many points, or rather, indeed, because of it, he presents a more consistent and harmonious conception than any earlier attempt that we possess which can in any way be compared. Its fascinating imagery has exercised no small influence upon subsequent thought, especially in its conception of the life of the Blessed, which, largely through Dante, has become current, if not precisely as a matter of creed, in most forms of Christianity. But it is probable that Vergil himself would have acknowledged his debt [1] to the sober reflections of Cicero, whose brief essay on the After-life was written just when Vergil had completed his own first screed about it in his schoolboy poem, the *Culex*. That poem was written in 53 or 54 B.C.; Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* [2] in the year 54 B.C., and to this we now turn. Cicero followed the example of Plato, who, as many of us remember with delight, concluded his ten Books *On the Republic*, after ranging through a multitude of subjects which no one can call political (save in the sense that to a philosopher everything is everything else, or part of it) with a picture of the After-life, thrown into the form of a long myth told by a Pamphylian called Er, who came back to life from a deathlike trance of nine days, and who was obliging enough to record for the philosopher, and for us through him, all the wonderful things he had seen in these nine days while his spirit was wandering far from his body. Cicero, therefore, taking this for his model, after discussing the nature and ideals of government in six Books,[3] concludes by a dream about the

[1] This is not the place to examine such resemblances as there undoubtedly are between *Aeneid VI* and the *Somnium Scipionis*, or the question how far they are due to their existence in sources equally familiar to both writers, and how far to Vergil's actual acquaintance with Cicero's work. I must leave this as an interesting topic for study, remarking only that it seems improbable that Vergil, who was wont to read eagerly every book in any kind of study in which he was interested, and who certainly was familiar with Cicero's translation of the Greek astronomer Aratus, drawing upon it frequently in the First Book of his *Georgics*, should not have seized upon the *Somnium*, so closely akin in subject to the poem which in 54 B.C. he had just written.

[2] Cic., *Ad Quint. Fr.* 2. 12 [14]. 1.

[3] A considerable part of this was recovered for us as recently as 1820 by Cardinal Angelo Mai, who found the fragments in the famous Palimpsest in the Vatican underneath a commentary on the Psalms by St. Augustine. But the dream of Scipio had always been known as a part of Book VI, preserved by Macrobius, luckily for us, since it was not in Mai's fragments.

After-world which he attributes to the younger Scipio, that is, to the victor in the third Punic War, Scipio Aemilianus (who was the son of Aemilius Paulus and a Scipio only by adoption). This young Scipio was a soldier and a statesman; but like some other noble minds of his century, he could find no political party to which he was prepared to attach himself in the fierce dissensions that attended the collapse of the old Republic, though he was regarded with mingled respect and fear by both Oligarchs and Revolutionaries. Cicero represents him as visiting Africa three years before the final destruction of Carthage, and as paying a visit to the aged African King, Masinissa, who had been a faithful ally of Rome for more than sixty years. The conversation of the young Scipio Aemilianus with this old friend of the house of the Scipios naturally turned on the deeds of the great Scipio Africanus. Retiring after a long talk, the king's guest fell into a deep dream in which Scipio Africanus appeared to him and bade him take well to heart what he had come to reveal.

This revelation then, Cicero[1] introduced as a wise man's dream. 'What I have to say about the heavens and about the immortality of the soul,' Cicero wrote, 'are not the inventions of visionary philosophers, or incredible fables such as the school of Epicurus derides; but the conjectures of thoughtful men.'

After a brief prophecy of the future achievements of Aemilianus, including the destruction of Carthage and his second consulship and a hint of the danger to which he would be exposed from civil turmoil, the spirit of the great warrior began to speak on more general themes:—

'To encourage you, my grandson, to even greater zeal in defence of our country and its constitution, I would have you know this, that for all those who have saved, served and ennobled their country, there is a place prepared in heaven where they may enjoy blessed and eternal life. For to that divine Author who rules the Universe, nothing that happens on earth is dearer than those unions and assemblies of men who are linked by the bond of law which are called nations. The rulers and preservers of these unions of men come from Heaven and return thither'.

The younger Scipio then asked whether he was really to believe that the great Africanus was alive and his own father Paulus also, and others whom men thought of as dead. 'Yea, verily', answered the great spirit, 'life is theirs indeed who have escaped from the bondage of their bodies as from a prison,

[1] See *De Re Publica*, vi., § 3 (C. F. W. Mueller, 1878).

whereas what you mortals call life is death. See, there comes your father Paulus to meet you'. When the young Scipio saw his father he shed tears; but Paulus embraced him and forbade him to weep. So then he asked again, 'Tell me, most revered and most kind of fathers, since your existence here is real life, as Africanus tells me, why do I still linger on earth? Why should I not hasten to join you here?' 'Nay', replied Paulus, 'it is not as you think. For unless that God, who is master of all this sacred region that you see, has set you free from your duty of keeping watch in the body, the gate to this world will not open to you. For human beings have been created under this condition, that they are to keep their watch and station upon that round globe which you see in the centre of this sacred region, that globe called earth. Every one of them has a soul drawn from the eternal fires which you call stars and planets, each of which is a perfect sphere, and quickened by the divine spirit accomplishes with wonderful speed the due orbit of its course. Wherefore, my son, you and every loyal man must keep your soul upon the watch in your body, nor attempt to desert the life of men without commands from him by whom the soul was given you. Beware lest you play the traitor to the duty which God has assigned you. But you, Scipio, following the footsteps of your grandfather here, and mine who begat you, seek after justice and loyalty, of which a great part lies in your behaviour to your parents and kinsmen; but the greatest part of all in your behaviour to your country. So to live is to tread the way that leads to Heaven, and to this assembly, to join those who have left mortal life behind and who, released from the body, now dwell in this region that you see'.

The region that Paulus meant was, as the younger Scipio explained, a circuit of glorious light amidst the flaming stars, which the Greeks had taught men to call the Milky Way; and Scipio added that in his vision he saw a number of stars which were never visible on earth and which men had never supposed to exist. Their size far surpassed that of the earth, which indeed seemed to him so small that he was sorry to think that the Empire of Rome could only be called the greatest thing in that globe.

This reflection of the young Scipio's introduces a striking but, for our purpose, hardly relevant description, taken from Greek sources, of the whole system of the nine circles of Heaven, of which the largest and outermost was the very body of God himself, the other seven corresponding to the seven planets and the central being the orb of the earth, round which the rest revolved, and revolved to music; for these seven circles corresponded to the seven notes of the musical scale (poor little Mercury and Venus—the planets with the smallest orbits—had to share one note between them!). This chapter of præ-Copernican astronomy is followed by an account of the zones of

earth and the great super-solar [1] year in which all the planets and stars will have so accomplished their revolutions as at the end of it to return to exactly the point from which they started.

From this Africanus draws a moral of the insignificance of all glory among men; for it occupies so small a part of time. The good man must set his eyes on things above and contemplate his celestial abode, his eternal home, not surrendering himself to the desire of popular fame or to the hope of any human rewards, but being attracted to real glory by the beauty of goodness herself. Aemilianus thanked him reverently for this exhortation and promised to strive even more faithfully now that he knew what reward was set before him. To this Africanus replied:

'Yes, strive with all your might and be sure of this, that it is not you that will die, but only your body. For you are not what your mortal shape represents you to be. It is the mind in each man that makes the man, not the bodily form to which others may point. Know, then, that you are a part of God, if by God we mean that spirit which lives strongly and feels and remembers and foresees; which guides and governs and moves the body of which it is to be in charge, no less than God himself guides this Universe of which he is the Author. And as the eternal God himself moves the Universe, which, in part, is subject to decay, so the eternal soul moves our frail bodies'.

Thence, arguing that the nature which is the source of movement must be superior to birth and death, he concludes that the nature of the soul which alone can initiate movement must be immortal.

'This divine spirit of life you must train in noble action, and the noblest of all cares are those which a man maintains for the safety of his fatherland; and if his soul is trained and practised in their pursuit he will all the more swiftly make his way through the heavens to this, his everlasting home; and he will do that more speedily if, when he is imprisoned in his body, he still keeps his eyes on what is beyond it, contemplating these things that are beyond, and freeing himself as far as he can from his bodily prison. For the souls of those who surrender themselves to bodily pleasure and make themselves servants to it, and under stress of the desires which it engenders violate their duties to God and man, even when they have made their way out of the body, are kept rolling and wallowing like beasts round the sphere of earth; and they cannot return to this heavenly region until they have suffered the purification of many ages'. 'With these words he departed, and I', said Aemilianus, 'awoke'.

[1] Cicero indicates that this Great Year is about 11,000 of our mortal solar years by saying that the period between the death of Romulus and the moment at which he speaks, i.e. roughly 550 years by the Varronian chronology, is not quite a twentieth of the whole.

As compared with the pictures of Orphism and the imaginative setting which Vergil has given them, Cicero's doctrine may seem a little prosaic and unexciting. But this is partly because of the influence it has exerted upon the fathers of the Christian Church, whose teaching, in due course, has left its mark upon our own habits of thought, so that it all sounds quite ordinary and familiar; but it has three or four characteristics, some of which correspond to features in Cicero's own conduct of life, and which, taken together, show that his little essay marks a real growth in the ethical value of the whole doctrine. First of all, there is the deeply felt depreciation of popularity and renown in this world. Cicero had enjoyed this to the full in his consulship; and then, within five years, had learnt that it could not even save him from ignominious banishment. There can be no doubt that this part of the vision inspired one of the most famous declarations of our own poet Milton :—

> "Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
> Nor in the glistering foil
> Set off to the world, nor in broad rumour lies,
> But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes
> And perfet witness of all-judging Jove;
> As he pronounces lastly on each deed,
> Of so much fame in Heaven expect thy meed."

Some other points are mainly negative, the things which Cicero preferred to omit. There is no mythology; no great criminals like Tantalus or the more historical Ardiaeus, whom Plato honours by admitting to (apparently) unending punishment. There is none of the picturesque doctrine of migration of souls, a cardinal feature of the Orphic creed, taken over by Pythagoras, and by Plato in his story of the Pamphylian and elsewhere; and then by the Latin poet Ennius, and not quite explicitly rejected by Vergil, although he suggests no other reincarnation than re-birth in human bodies. The limitation is even more marked in Cicero, who speaks of the weaker class of characters as being only re-admitted to their native heaven 'after the purification of ages'. It is clearly through deliberate choice that Cicero omits all reference to the nature of this purification, so that the machinery of punishment which occupies a large place in Vergil's picture, and,

as we have seen, the largest place of all in the Etruscan doctrine, is nowhere admitted to Cicero's tranquil scene. It is represented by the one word 'purification'. This is typical of the genial and prudent agnosticism which Cicero loved to practise; and it represents also something of the conviction which at this time in his life more and more became paramount in his mind, that force was no remedy for evil.

But these things are, after all, points of detail. The great difference which we feel in Cicero's attitude towards ethical questions is his steady adherence to the point of view of public life. Important as that may be, most of us regard it as only a small part of our conduct. But we forget the gulf between Cicero's day and our own. Now we appeal to men to raise their standard of public conduct to match their private standard, to be not less honourable, not less generous, not less friendly, in judging international affairs, than they would be in their private relations. In Cicero's time the plea was reversed. If you needed to beg a man to practise any kind of goodness, what could you appeal to? To his religion, his reverence for anything connected with it, or any of its living exponents? It had no bearing whatever upon his morals. Or to any kind of association, like a church or any other society with a philanthropic purpose, or even to his political party? None of these things even existed. The only society which could claim from him any moral effort was that of his nation. To Cicero belongs the distinction,—and students of ethics seem to be agreed that he was historically right,[1]—of placing even the highest rules of private conduct on a social basis, on the laws inborn in man as a member of the whole human community. So far as I can find, his was the earliest recorded declaration[2] in Europe of the great ideal of

[1] See *The Originality of Cicero* (1930), p. 19, footn. 3, reprinted in *Makers of Europe* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1931), p. 36.

[2] *De Leg.*, i., § 34, a reference which I owe to a charming address on the *Humanism of Cicero* by my friend Professor E. K. Rand (*Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, lxxi., 1932, p. 215); the passage must be read, as Professor Rand does, in the light of § 33. What seems to be a lacuna (and is at all events a corrupt passage) between the two sections, makes it hard to say how far Cicero meant to extend an attitude which he puts forward as possible between two like-minded friends; but the words *hanc benivolentiam late longeque diffusam* suggests that he meant

conduct based on this natural social tie, an ideal which, as he says, some men held to be impossible, that the wise man should love his fellow no less than himself. And how far Cicero dissented from the severe but heartless morality of the Stoics appears in one point of which I may remind you in conclusion, I mean his clear endorsement of the disapproval which Socrates had felt of suicide. Here Cicero's teaching and conduct was in contrast with the fashionable Stoic doctrine of his day, practised, in fact, by that curious though powerful character Cato of Utica. Cicero more than once seems to make a half-apology in writing to his friends for not having committed suicide rather than go into exile, or rather than submit to Caesar's despotism, and the reasons he gives on both occasions are worthy of his honest and sound humanity. First, because of his children, especially of course his beloved daughter, and, secondly, because of his no less beloved country. And in that spirit, as we know, he faced death when it came.

Let me end with a few words of his, which I have quoted before, written,[1] not long before his death, to a trusted friend: 'Do not infer, I beseech you, from these chance jests that I have ceased to care for my country. Believe me, dear friend, day and night my thoughts and endeavours are all set upon this, how to save the lives and the freedom of my countrymen. I let slip no chance of warning, pleading, and planning on their behalf. And my resolve is, that if in thus watching and working I am called to lay down my life, I will count it a glorious ending.'

to commend it universally. The second greatest commandment of the Gospels, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Mark xii. 28-31, and Luke x. 27-29) is an expansion of the precept of Leviticus xix. 18, which dates, so the commentators tell us, from the time of the Jewish Exile (W. F. Lofthouse, in *Peake's Commentary*, 1929, p. 196).

[1] *Ad Fam.*, 9. 24. 4.

APPENDIX I.

Orphic Tablets from Kern's *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (1922).

In printing these restorations I have followed the usual practice of denoting editorial insertions by ⟨ ⟩, editorial deletions by [ ], broken or obscure letters by — below them; also of inserting accents and breathings, none of which appear in the original. I have made no changes in Diels' text, which Kern takes over from Diels' *Vorsokratiker*, II³, pp. 175-178, though I have suggested two slight changes in the first; and one very small one in the last, which I have read myself.[1]

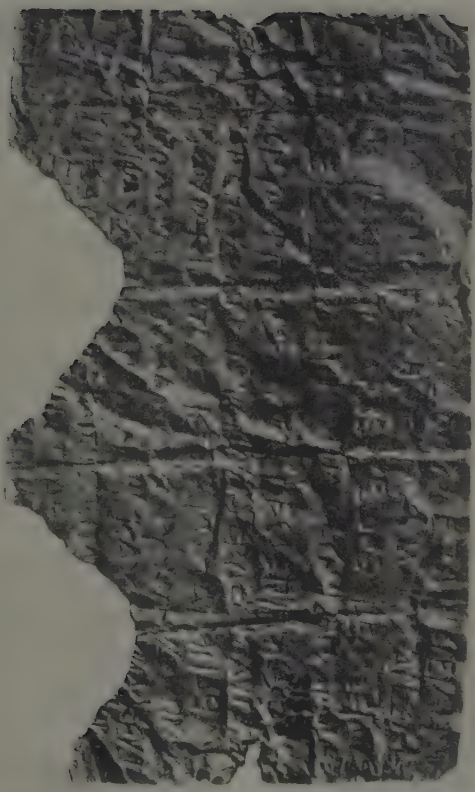
Fragment 47 (see p. 74).

πρωτογόνωι Γῆι ματρὶ ἔφη Κυβελήϊα Κόρρα
. . . . Δήμητρος . . . . . Πανόπτα Ζεῦ . . . .
Ἥλιε Πῦρ διὰ πάντ' ἄστη νίσεαι, ὅτε Νίκαις
ἠδὲ Τύχαις ἐφάνης ⟨καὶ ὁμοῦ⟩ παμμήστορι Μοίραι
τῆι τοι γάννυα [i.e. γάνεα, Bücheler] πιαίνεις τῆι σῆι, κλυτὲ δαῖμον
δεσποτείαι· τὶν πάντα δαμαστά, ⟨τὰ⟩ πάντα κρατυντά,
ἐμβρόντητα δὲ πάντα· ⟨τὰ⟩ Μοίρης τλητέα πάντη.
μητέρι Πῦρ μέν μ' ἂγ[ε], εἰ νῆστις οἶδ' ⟨ὑπομεῖναι⟩
ἑπτά τε νῆστιν νυξὶν ἡ μεθ' ἡμέραν(?) (? read νυξὶ μεθ' ἥμαρ τ' αὖτ')
ἐλινύειν.
ἑπτῆμαρ τὶν νῆστις ἔην, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε καὶ (? insert ⟨σὺ⟩) πανόπτα
Ἄλιε . . . . . .
δυσσεβέ⟨ων⟩ ἄστακτα πυρὸς . . . πεδίου . . . Ῥαδαμ⟨α⟩νθυ . . .

Fragment 32*a* (see p. 77).

εὐρήσσεις δ' Ἀίδαο δόμων ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κρήνην,
πὰρ δ' αὐτῆι λευκὴν ἑστηκυῖαν κυπάρισσον.
ταύτης τῆς κρήνης μηδὲ σχεδὸν ἐμπελάσειας

[1] This is perhaps hardly the place in which to introduce serious innovations in printing Greek. Yet I confess that it goes against the grain with me to continue to print accents on prepositions and on any forms of the definite article, since we know quite certainly from the evidence of the papyri and of Modern Greek that these forms were spoken and written with no accents at all (except prepositions put after their case, e.g. πατρὸς πάρα). See the *Report of the Committee on Greek Accentuation*, Classical Assoc. Proc., xxv., 1928, pp. 68-9.



2. GOLD LAMELLA FROM PETELIA (Br. Mus. Gold Ors. 1153).
KERN, *Fragmenta Orph.* 32 (a)

(*To face page* 86

εὑρήσεις δ' ἑτέραν τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ· προρέον· φύλακες δ' ἐπίπροσθεν ἔασιν.
εἰπεῖν· "Γῆς παῖς εἰμι, καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος.
αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον· τόδε δ' ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί.
δίψῃι δ' εἰμ[ι] αὖη καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ' αἶψα,
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης."
καὐ⟨τοί⟩ σ⟨ο⟩ι δώσουσι πιεῖν θείης ἀπ⟨ὸ κρήν⟩ης
καὶ τότ' ἔπειτ' ἄ⟨λλοισι μεθ'⟩ ἡρώεσσιν ἀνάξει⟨ς⟩.

Fragment 32e, first part (see p. 76).

ἔ[ι]ρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶ⟨ν⟩ καθ⟨αρά, χθ⟩ο⟨νίων⟩ βασίλ⟨εια⟩[υρ]
Εὔκλ⟨εα⟩ κα⟨ὶ⟩ Εὐβο⟨υ⟩λεῦ καὶ Θεοὶ ὅσοι δ⟨αί⟩μονες ἄλλο⟨ι⟩.
καὶ γὰρ ἐ⟨γ⟩ὼ⟨ν⟩ ὑ⟨μῶν⟩ γένος εὔχομα⟨ι⟩ ε⟨ἶ⟩να⟨ι⟩ ὄλβιο⟨ν⟩,
ποινὰν ⟨δ'⟩ δ' ἀνταπέτε⟨ισ'⟩ ἔργω⟨ν ἕνεκ'⟩ ο⟨ὔ⟩τι δικα⟨ί⟩ων . . .

Fragment 32c, latter part (see p. 76).

. . . . . .
κυκλο⟨ῦ⟩ δ' ἐξέπταν βαρυπενθέος ἀργαλέοιο
ἵμερτο⟨ῦ⟩ δ' ἐπέβαν στεφάνο⟨υ⟩ ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι,
Δεσσποίνας δ[ὲ] ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν χθονίας βασιλείας·
ἵμερτο⟨ῦ⟩ δ' ἀπέβαν στεφάνο⟨υ⟩ ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι.
"ὄλβιε καὶ μακαριστέ, θεὸς δ' ἔσῃ ἀντὶ βροτοῖο."
ἔριφος ἐς γάλ' ἔπετον.

Fragment 32g (see p. 77).

ἔρχεται ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρὰ, χθονίων βασίλεια
Εὔκλεες Εὐβουλεῦ τε, Διὸς τέκος ἀγλά[α], ἔχω δὲ
Μνημοσύνης τόδε δῶρον, ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν.
"Καικιλία Σκουνδεῖνα, νόμῳ ἴθι δῖα γεγῶσα."

This last inscription, like others scratched with a needle on metal (for instance the Oscan curses on lead in the Naples Museum, Ital. Dial. 130, 131, 137) is exceedingly difficult to read, and I must express my admiring gratitude to my predecessors in the task. Following them, however, I have spent some hours over it with a good lens, and I note such results as seemed to me likely. In the second line I should read εὐκλεις. In the third line, which is the real crux, where Diels reads ἀγλά' and Professor Murray reads ὅπλα, I must vote for the former, yet not because I think that the engraver has actually written α (where Professor

Murray reads ο). What he has written is a sign which corresponds to nothing that I know in the Ionic alphabet, namely ⅄. He may have had his elbow pushed when he was trying to write Λ; or have first omitted it and then tried to squeeze it into a narrow space and so turned its loop downwards and broken the back of its sloping hasta; or he may have had an unintelligible document in front of him; but, so far as I can judge, he certainly was not attempting to write ο.

The next symbol might be read as Professor Murray does, Π. But then the Λ which follows would have only one stroke, the long slanting stroke downwards from left to right, and we should have to suppose that its first stroke, the up stroke on the left, had been sunk entirely in the second hasta of the Π. I can find no other example of such ligatures on the tablet, and therefore I believe with Diels that the two letters should be read as ΓΛ. The two following letters seem to me quite certainly two alphas. If the second was meant for Δ, its right-hand stroke is prolonged above and below in a way which does not appear, so far as I could find, in any other Δ upon the tablet.

Of course, it is bad grammar to make τέκος feminine; but it applies presumably to Proserpine, and by treating her with the gender proper to her sex, the versifier made his line scan. It is a choice of difficulties. This supposition seems to me much less difficult than Professor Murray's suggestion that the tablet itself was first described as ὅπλα (without any following genitive to explain it, as in St. Paul's 'armour of righteousness', which Professor Murray quotes), and then as τόδε δῶρον; and that (since he begins a new sentence with ὅπλα δ' ἔχ' ὧδε) Secundina herself was described as the 'daughter of Zeus'. That transformation of her seems to me out of place at this point in the formula. It should only appear, naturally enough, in the climax, as in the previous example.

If this is so, it is clear that we must divide the next letters, which are quite clear, as ἔχω δὲ and not as ἔχ' ὧδε.

The last line is very difficult; but any one who will compare Diels' text, which I adopt, with Professor Murray's own facsimile, will, I think, agree with me that Diels has represented that facsimile more faithfully than has Professor Murray himself

in his conjecture. In reading the line I was convinced that ΘΙ is almost certain, certainly far more probable than ΑΙ, and an Ι before it is possible. There is, I must admit, room for more than one letter after it before the ΙΑ, on which Professor Murray agrees with Diels and which I also could see. It is conceivable that, since the engraver had plenty of room, he wrote this extremely important word (δῖα) with more space between the letters; but I must confess that half an hour, spent in trying to ascertain the letter or letters in that gap, gave me nothing that I could be sure of, though I should be sorry to cast any doubt on the Δ which Diels gives. In the last word Professor Murray says quite truly that the last letter but one now visible is a Γ; but since it is on the lower edge of the gold it is not difficult to suppose that it is Ε (the form used for σ in this script) with the lowest stroke lost. The analogy of other tablets seems to me to make Diel's interpretation quite certain (δῖα γεγῶσα—but the first word might be restored as θεία or (?) δεία (half Latin, which the quantity of the final -α is in any case). Professor Murray's νόμῳ αἰεὶ ἀπαγωγά is highly ingenious; but the context surely demands a verb, not a rather unusual adjective, ἀπαγωγά, which, after all, would be of little comfort to Secundina, since it would only imply that she was a very good 'amulet' for somebody else, not that she herself received any benefit.

APPENDIX II.

An Orphic Seal of Christian Times.

As evidence of the long persistence of Orphic beliefs it is worth while to note here one remarkable document from Christian times which seems to show what I may call at least a sentimental tribute of Orphism to Christianity. On the bezel of a ring in the Berlin Museum which Otto Wulff[1] assigns to

[1] *Altchristliche Bildwerke*, i. (1909), 234, no. 1146, taf. 56; reproduced by Kern, *Orph. Fragmenta*, p. 46. Most of the objects in this particular collection seem to have been bought in Asia Minor; so I gather from the particulars given in the Berlin Museum Catalogue on which Wulff depends.

the third or fourth century A.D., there is engraved a crucified figure, with seven stars and a crescent above, the sun and moon to the left and right, and the sign V below; the whole is labelled, in what appears to be badly spelt Greek, 'Orpheus, the Bacchic' or 'Orpheus, Son of Bacchus'; ορφεος βακκικος are the actual words. Wulff describes the sign at the foot as *Pflocke*, 'plugs, wedges'; I wonder if they are. I observe that in another seal (Wulff, 1140), of Gnostic character, two such signs, inverted, appear above the ends of the two arms of the Cross; and the whole is labelled καλως, said to be for καλος, a name for Christ; for this Wulff refers to Zahn, *Acta Johannis* (1880), pp. 231 (ll. 17, 19) and 233 (l. 3). The *Acta Joh.* is a work of pious imagination dating between 400 and 600 A.D. (*id.*, *ib.*, p. lix); but these passages are in the latter part of Zahn's volume, and come from a writer who called himself Leucius (Charinus), and whom Zahn (p. cxlv) dates not later than 160 A.D.

THE MIND OF PAUL: A PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH.[1]

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"A STURDY little bald-headed, bow-legged man, with meeting eyebrows and a rather prominent nose."[2] Such is the description of the Apostle Paul which has been handed down by tradition. And it is quite likely a good tradition, for although the document in which it occurs has late elements, yet there are good reasons for putting the tradition itself back to the early second century, or even to the first; and it belongs to a region where the memory of Paul was especially cherished—his own "Galatia."[3] In any case, there are allusions in the epistles which confirm the main lines of the picture. It is evident that Paul was of insignificant appearance, for his enemies at Corinth twitted him with it, and there was enough truth in the charge to give it a sting.[4] Paul was conscious that he did not look impressive; and he resented it. That is not only a physical but also a psychological *datum*. But the tradition also avers that he was εὐεκτικός, well knit, or in good condition—a sturdy little man. It is often supposed that Paul was a sickly person. It is true that he several times alludes to illness. But we have only to consider that list of adventures and sufferings in *II. Corinthians*, xi. 23-32, to realize that this was no semi-invalid or valetudinarian. Five times scourged

[1] An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 9th November, 1932.

[2] Acts of Paul and Thecla, § 3.

[3] See the discussion of these *Acta* in W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 31, *sqq.*

[4] II. Cor., x. 10-11.

within an inch of his life (for thirty-nine stripes is the savage maximum penalty), once stoned, with nearly fatal results,[1] shipwrecked on four occasions,[2] on one of which he suffered twenty-four hours' exposure in the open sea—he must have been pretty tough. Of his recurrent malady—if such it was—we know little. He was ill at the time when he first preached in Galatia.[3] He felt himself to be a pitiable object, and was grateful to the Galatians for not treating him with contempt.[4] In *II. Corinthians*, xii. 7 he speaks of being "battered" by an illness as painful as a "stake in the flesh," and this illness was either persistent or recurrent, for he adds "I prayed to the Lord about it three times, that it might leave me," but apparently his prayer was not answered. Just before writing *II. Corinthians*, i. 8-9, his life had been despaired of; and this seems more likely to have been due to severe illness (probably an attack of the same malady) than to persecution. That is all we really know. Diagnosis is impossible.[5] But we may fairly say that he was a man of generally sound constitution and great resistant and recuperative powers, but suffering from some physical disability which from time to time checked his efficiency and hindered his work. This disability he resented bitterly. It was "a messenger of Satan."[6] He felt it an intolerable humiliation, thwarting his purposes, and exposing him to contempt.

So much we know of the man's physical constitution. What of that half-physical, half-psychical thing, temperament? It is clear that he was what is called highly-strung—sensitive to conditions, a man of moods, with emotions readily aroused.

[1] II. Cor. xi. 25 may safely be identified with Acts xiv. 19.

[2] To the three shipwrecks mentioned in II. Cor. xi. 25 we must add the (later) shipwreck of Acts xxvii.

[3] Gal. iv. 13. Δι' ἀνθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς can scarcely bear any other meaning than "because of bodily illness."

[4] Gal. iv. 14. To attempt to identify a disease which makes the sufferer loathsome is to misunderstand the passage completely. The sense of humiliation is wholly in Paul's own mind. The Galatians, being ordinarily decent people, felt pity, not contempt.

[5] There is no evidence for the diagnosis of epilepsy, which once had a vogue; nor can we fairly use Gal. iv. 15, still less Gal. vi. 11, as evidence for ophthalmia.

[6] II. Cor. xii. 7.

The emotional temperament is reflected in his literary style. At its best it is elevated, moving and impassioned; at its worst, involved or incoherent. It is seldom or never level, cool, or tame. His letters betray his varying moods. In *I. Thessalonians*, ii. 17-iii. 5, for example, he appears agitated and worried, resentful of hindrances, impatient with waiting. In those days, as he tells us in retrospect in *I. Corinthians*, ii. 1-5, he was in a state of abject nervousness, which made him incapable of effective speech just when he would have wished to be most effective. Yet at other times he had the orator's sense of power and delight in swaying an audience—" demolishing arguments, and all arrogance that affronts the knowledge of God, and leading captive every thought into the allegiance of Christ." [1] That he had a hot and quick temper *Galatians* and *II. Corinthians* sufficiently prove, and the converse, his capacity for warm affection and craving for its return, is evident in most of the letters. Sometimes he wears his heart upon his sleeve.[2] Having this ardent temperament, he took life seriously, with little of that saving sense of humour which for many men lightens the burden of things. Now and again in his letters, perhaps, he will be playful, but it is a rather heavy playfulness at best. This was temperamental, and certainly not due to any slowness of wit, for his intelligence was nimble enough. His mind leaps with almost embarrassing quickness from one aspect of an idea to another, and his rapid parentheses and asides are among the most marked features of his style. Corresponding to his sensitiveness to emotional stimulus was an openness to intellectual impressions which gives a rich variety to his presentation of Christian thought. Without it he would not have been so effective an interpreter of Christianity to the thinking world of his time—or so teasing to his modern interpreters.

To this we must add that he had that kind of spiritual constitution (whatever it may be) that makes the mystic. The question whether or not Paul's theology is rightly described

[1] II. Cor. x. 4-6.

[2] E.g. I. Thess. ii. 7-8, II. Cor. vi. 11-vii. 7 (omitting vi. 14-vii. 1, which is probably a misplaced page of another letter). The absence of conventional reserve in such passages is characteristic.

as mystical is perhaps largely a matter of definition. But his allusion to a rapture to Paradise [1] indicates a type of experience which is characteristic of mysticism. There is no reason to suppose that such experiences began for him with his Christian life. On the contrary, it is probable that his Christianity tended to control and moderate the mystical impulse and to re-direct it into more profitable channels. All his life the unseen world must have been to him an immediate and impressive reality,[2] and he was easily ready, as most of us are not, to find motives and satisfactions in the spiritual world.

So much we seem justified in setting down as defining Paul's native constitution. What can we further know of the conditions which influenced his early life? We are told by his biographer that he was of Tarsus, and the statement need hardly be questioned. With this clue we can recognize at once the influence of city life upon his early mind. It has often been observed that while Jesus was a man of the country, Paul was a man of the town. He scarcely betrays any feeling for the beauty or pathos of the natural world. He does, indeed, speak of the creation groaning and travailing in pain; but it has never occurred to him to dwell upon the fall of the sparrow or the withering of the grass. "Does God care for cattle?" he asks with a scornful incredulity.[3] His one attempt to draw a detailed illustration from agricultural life—the allegory of the grafted olive [4]—only proves his ignorance of it. On the other hand his mind is full of images of city life. The market, the law-court, the race-course, the army supply his illustrations; and if many of his metaphors in this department are part of the rhetorical commonplace of the time, that very fact links him with the environment in which he, like the popular preachers of Stoicism and Cynicism, was at home—the environment of the Greek city-state.

We are further informed by that companion of Paul whose journal is used in the second part of the *Acts of the Apostles*, that he was a Roman citizen. The statement again is entirely credible, although it is not directly confirmed by his letters. It gives us, however, a clue to the œcumenical outlook which

[1] II. Cor. xii. 4.
[2] II. Cor. iv. 18.
[3] I. Cor. ix. 9.
[4] Rom. xi. 17-24.

distinguished him from many early Christian teachers. If he was a Roman citizen, as well as a citizen of Tarsus, then we may conclude that his family was of some social standing —and that in a world where social standing counted for at least as much as it did in this country before the death of Queen Victoria. For in the first century the imperial policy confined the coveted privilege of citizenship in the provinces to the landed gentry and the municipal aristocracy. It is true that he is recorded in the Acts to have been a tent-maker by trade, and some have thought that this places him in what we call the working class. But it was a point of honour among good Jews that a man who occupied himself with the Torah should have a trade by which he could live, that he might not be tempted to make his calling in the Law a source of profit. That he was not born to a "proletarian" status seems clear from the tone of his letters. A man born to manual labour does not speak self-consciously of "labouring with my own hands." Consider the sarcastic outburst of *I. Corinthians*, iv. 9-13— "I think God has exhibited us apostles as the lowest of the low, like gallows-birds; for we have become a spectacle to the universe, angels and men. We are fools for Christ's sake, while you are most prudent Christians; we are feeble while you are strong; we are in disgrace while you are honoured. To this very moment we are starving, thirsty, ragged, battered tramps. We toil at labour with our own hands. Vilified, we give good words; hunted down, we endure; slandered, we make our meek appeal. We are like the dregs and scum of society to this very moment!" Surely we miss the point of this unless we read it as the utterance of one whose natural place in society is the exact reverse of all this. Most illuminating of all, perhaps, is *Philippians*, iv. 14-19. Here Paul is trying to say a graceful word of thanks for a gift of money. How much he hated taking it, we may infer from *I. Corinthians*, ix. 15-18. He can scarcely bring himself to acknowledge that the money was welcome to him, and covers up his embarrassment by piling up technical terms of trade,[1] as if to give the transaction a severely "business"

[1] εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήψεως, τὸν καρπὸν τὸν πλεονάζοντα, εἰς λόγον ὑμῶν, ἀπέχω, πεπλήρωμαι.

aspect. This was a man who had chosen poverty as his lot for ideal ends, but could never feel himself one of the "poor," to whom alms might be offered without suspicion of offence. He was indeed no aristocrat, but he had the feelings of a well-to-do *bourgeois*.[1]

Paul, therefore—and this is of importance for his development—started with a secure position in the cosmopolitan society of his time. But there was one flaw in his title: he was a Jew, of pure Hebrew descent and strict Jewish upbringing. We are to understand, probably, that his parents spoke Aramaic and taught it to their children:[2] not all Jews of the Dispersion did that. These were Jews with a strongly national outlook. They brought up their son as a Pharisee. Thus, Roman citizen as he was, he was nevertheless uncompromisingly a Jew. Now a Jew might be wealthy, he might have an influential social position, but he belonged to a minority, an intensely self-conscious minority, and an unpopular minority. The Jew of the Dispersion was so constantly kept in mind of the contempt with which others regarded him, that he had to be continually reminding himself that he belonged to the chosen people of God, possessed of a dignity before which the pomp of emperors paled. The self-consciousness of the Jew was deeply engrained in Paul's mind: it must have entered with his earliest impressions. In his letters, written in middle age, he comes before us as the champion of a supra-national religion. His watchword is "There is no distinction." Yet to the end of his life it remained to him a miracle, a "mystery," that Jew and Gentile could meet on common ground.[3] The miracle had happened, but it remained a miracle. We may infer from this the intensity of his national feeling in his earliest days. There was material for a very acute conflict between Saul, the Jew, and Paul, the Roman of Tarsus.

We picture him then growing up at Tarsus. His keen intellectual curiosity, his interest in the human scene, his

[1] Here I follow Sir W. M. Ramsay against Professor Deissmann.

[2] Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων Phil. iii. 5, cf. Ac. vi. 1, where Ἑβραῖος is clearly the contrary of Ἑλληνιστής, Greek speaking.

[3] Eph. i. 15-ii. 22. Col. i. 21-29, foreshadowed already in Rom. xv. 7-13.

sensitiveness to impressions, drew him outwards towards the busy life of Græco-Roman society. Was he not a Roman, and did he not belong to it? Not less, his sympathetic temperament, his warm-hearted capacity for affection, must have lured him into the fellowship of his Gentile contemporaries. Our evidence for his Gentile friendships belongs, of course, to his later life as a Christian, but he surely had it in him from the first to enter into these wider relationships. Yet there was a great gulf fixed. Even if he had been willing to forget it, society would not allow him to do so. But he could not forget it, and did not wish to forget it. He "gloried" in it. That word (*καυχᾶσθαι* with its derivates *καύχημα*, *καύσησις*) has an important place in Paul's vocabulary.[1] It was a necessity for him to have something to be proud of. That is not necessarily anything unworthy. Without being able to identify himself with something of which he can be proud—his country, his profession, or what not—a man is a poor creature. Yet a less admirable kind of pride easily creeps in, the more so if there is any factor in the man's experience that suggests humiliation. And Paul, as we have seen, was sensitive to humiliation. He must have a *καύχημα*, a ground of pride. And what should that be but the glory of Israel? "If anyone thinks he has ground for self-confidence in his natural advantages, I can beat him there—circumcised the eighth day, Israelite by descent, of the tribe of Benjamin, Hebrew-speaking and of a Hebrew-speaking family; in regard to the Torah, a Pharisee."[2] Paul had been a Christian for some thirty years when he wrote that. How strong must that pride have been forty years earlier? The social and religious integrity of Israel—all that the Torah stood for—came to be the ideal about which all his faculties and interests were organized in a dominant sentiment of great power and tenacity. The more his curiosity and sympathy led him to know the pagan environment, the more sharply was his contrasted ideal defined, and the more intensely were his emotions evoked for the service of that ideal.

[1] *καυχᾶσθαι*, *καύχησις*, *καύχημα* occur over 50 times, and in every epistle except II. Thess., Col. and Philemon.

[2] Phil. iii. 4-5.

That meant further that his whole inward comfort and satisfaction must depend on living up to the demands of his ideal. The Torah was a comprehensive religious and ethical system: it was a norm of belief, a liturgy of worship, a mould for spiritual experience and aspiration, but above all it was a code of rules for conduct (*Halakha*). For Paul certainly it was that above all. His regular equivalent for the Hebrew "*Torah*" is the narrower Greek term νόμος, "Law"; and he emphasises this aspect of the Torah by frequently using the even more precise term ἐντολή, "Commandment." We cannot doubt that this represents the aspect in which religion had been impressed upon him from childhood. It was first and foremost an ethical imperative, expressed in detailed rules of behaviour. His upbringing must have been strict and austere. We shall not go far wrong in reading through the formalized outline of *Romans*, vii. 7 *sqq.* a vivid personal recollection.[1] "Once upon a time (and how long ago it seems!) I lived my own life, and Law was not there." Is there any more apt description of a very little child—following its instinctive impulses without thought of restraint? "But when the Commandment came, Sin sprang to life—and I was dead!" The instincts are beginning to be repressed. As the boy matures, the repression is not merely administered from without: it is inwardly accepted. "I delight in the Law in my inner self." His pride and honour are engaged in the keeping of the Law—the glory of Israel. If he was to have any καύχημα—any pride, confidence or satisfaction in life—it must be through the Law. Jewish critics find something rather morbid or abnormal about Paul's attitude to the Law. Other Pharisees did not feel as he did. But there is a phrase in his letter to the Galatians (i. 14) which betrays the reason for this departure from the normal: "I was forging ahead in Judaism beyond many of my contemporaries, for I was extraordinarily keen about my ancestral traditions." There we have the personal factor added to the impersonal pride in the glory of Israel—Paul must at all costs excel. He creates for himself an ideal of

[1] See introductory note to this passage in my Commentary on Romans.

scrupulous perfection which to many of his fellow-Pharisees must have seemed somewhat fantastic. No wonder his moral conflict was so desperate. Naturally hot passions were being ruthlessly repressed by a fanatical ideal, an ideal which summoned to its support not only the highest spiritual affections of a mystic, but the instinctive impulses associated with personal, family and racial pride and honour. We need not be surprised either that the conflict often went against his dominant sentiment, or that when so betrayed he felt in despair, "It is not I that do the deed, but Sin that dwells in me"—a demonic power rising out of unconscious depths like a devil from the Pit. It is an evidence of the man's complete sincerity, and of his power of self-analysis, that the command he cites as bringing him to despair is Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις—"Thou shalt not covet" (or "lust"—the Greek word covers both). His acts, he found, he might control, but not his desires; and the more he tried to repress them, the more insistent they became. "I should never have known what it was to covet and lust, but that the Law said: Thou shalt not covet; but Sin found its opportunity in that command, and evoked all kinds of lust and covetousness in me." Here are the conditions of the inner conflict portrayed in *Romans* vii. We are accustomed to treat it as an example of the universal experience of moral struggle, and we have a right to do so. But in Paul's case the struggle was determined by peculiar conditions. The Law was not simply "the moral law" in a general sense. It was the symbol of the glory of Israel which gave him self-respect before the world. Among the forces opposed to it were not only temptations to moral transgressions which the general sense of mankind would recognize as such, but also temptations to a freer association with the great world of which he would gladly have been a part, and inclinations to equal and friendly intercourse with Gentiles. Paul, the Roman, and Saul, the Jew, were at strife.

"They cease not fighting, east and west
On the marches of my breast.
Here the truceless armies yet
Trample, rolled in blood and sweat;
They kill and kill and never die;
And I think that each is I."

Now when a severe conflict exists within the self, one way of relief is to externalize the conflict by identifying that which one detests in oneself with some other person or body of persons. How much of the persecuting intolerance in the world, even to-day, might be traced to such an origin? Or why was it that many people found such satisfaction and liberation in the license to hate which was given them by war? Now Paul found relief in persecuting the Nazarenes. In doing so, he was gratifying his desire to excel in the service of the Law. In both of the passages in his letters where he recites his distinctions as a Jew (*Galatians* i. 14, *Philippians* iii. 4 *sqq.*), he makes his persecution of the Church the supreme test of his "zeal." We may be sure that the principal reason why he could embrace this grim task was that here were enemies of the Law whom he could smite as he was failing to smite the enemies of the Law in his own breast. The "blasphemies" of the Nazarenes made it easy to find in them an embodiment of that "other law, warring against the Law of my mind." By speaking lightly of the Torah and the Temple, and hailing the Messiah in a dead criminal, they were dragging the glory of Israel in the mire. The repressed passions of his nature found a consecrated outlet here: the "threatenings and slaughter" which he breathed out promised to cleanse his bosom of much perilous stuff. In many of the Psalms of the canonical Psalter, and of "Solomon," we may find his attitude depicted: "Lord, how I love Thy Law," is balanced by "Do I not hate them, O Lord, which hate Thee? I hate them with a perfect hatred!"

We may here pause to consider the spiritual condition represented by these facts. It is often thought that Paul is making fantastic or exaggerated statements when he speaks of the Law as the means of sin and death. But his state of mind was in fact extremely pernicious. He had wholly identified himself (in intention) with a certain ideal, represented by the Torah interpreted as a peculiarly meticulous code of precepts. So fully had he identified himself with it that unless he could see himself as the perfect Pharisee, life lost meaning. He had staked all on his *καύχημα*, his pride in the Law. At the same time he was aware that this picture of himself as the perfect

Pharisee was denied by facts of his own experience. It was fantasy, not reality. Every effort he could make within the bounds of the Torah was only deepening the cleft which divided his soul in two. The expedient of consecrating himself to a holy war against the Nazarenes could not finally deliver him from this division in the self. We cannot imagine such a man as Paul finding permanent satisfaction in hatred—if indeed any man could ever find it. His humane impulses must have put up a good fight. Perhaps one reason why his career came to a stop before the gates of Damascus was sheer revulsion from his task—a task nevertheless set him, as he believed, by the God who gave the Law.

Any enquiry into the methods and stages of Paul's conversion must be mainly speculative. He was unconscious of them himself, for to him the whole thing was the sudden blinding flash that decided the issue. What we have to do is to try to define the meaning of his conversion as the solution of the conflict which was ruining his life. It meant the abandonment of that fantasy of himself as the perfect Pharisee by which he had hitherto been controlled. It meant that he accepted the plain fact that he did not, and could not, keep the Law of God. Thus his *καύχημα*, his pride and self-respect, was gone. "My advantages I counted disadvantages."[1] He was thrown upon the great world to stand or fall without any of the moral and spiritual support which a Jew gained from his Torah. He threw in his lot with One irretrievable cursed by the Law: "Cursed be everyone that is hanged on a tree. . . . I have been crucified with Christ."[2] That meant something tragically final for a Pharisee. There was no getting past it: he was outside the Law, no better than "sinners of the Gentiles."[3] That did not mean that he renounced the high ethical ideal represented by the Law as interpreted by the Pharisees. He was now, said he, not *ἄνομος Θεοῦ*, but *ἔννομος Χριστοῦ* ("not God's outlaw, but Christ's inlaw,"[4] if we are to keep the play upon words). Having seen "the light of the knowledge of God's glory in the face of Jesus Christ,"[5] he had entered into

[1] Phil. iii. 7. [2] Gal. iii. 13, ii. 19. [3] Gal. ii. 15.
[4] I. Cor. ix. 21. [5] II. Cor. iv. 6.

a more inclusive, more absolute conception of the will of God than the Law could give. This is not the place to attempt any more precise theological definition of the consequences of this. What we have to observe is that pride in the Law has been displaced by pride in the Cross; pride in "righteousness" as an achievement, by pride in that which empties him of pride. "God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world."[1] "Where is pride? It is excluded."[2] We shall not wonder at this emphasis on the exclusion of pride if we realize that it was just here that Paul's conflict came to its issue. In glorifying the Law he had thought to glorify himself —"in regard to legal righteousness, blameless"[3]—and the shame of breaking it was breaking him down. Now the conflict was resolved. He accepted his failure, and trusted God to work in him that which was well-pleasing to Himself. The result was a sense of freedom and expansion, which is manifest in all his writings, and is a sure sign of a soul at unity with itself and reconciled to God and man. All his powers and capacities were released and his wide sympathies given free play; for with the Law had gone that "middle wall of partition"[4] which had separated him from his fellowmen. He might love and serve them, Jew and Greek alike, without restraint or misgiving. Thus the universality of his mission was given, at least implicitly, in the fact of his conversion.

In essentials, the new way of life was determined for Paul by the crisis that brought him into Christianity. It would be easy to illustrate in detail its effects in particular moral situations. His liberation, however, was not at once complete. In his earlier letters (the earliest of which are not less than fifteen years later than his conversion) we find indications that old ways of thought and traits of character in part survived the change, and were only gradually brought captive to the allegiance of Christ. There is a touchiness about his dignity which sorts

[1] Gal. vi. 14. [2] Rom. iii. 27.

[3] Phil. iii. 7. This need not be understood as a contradiction of the confession in Rom. vii. The point of view is different. The valuation of *κέρδη* in Phil. iii. is *ἐν σαρκί*.

[4] Eph. ii. 14.

ill with the selflessness of one who has died with Christ. When opposition presents itself, he will override it "with a rod."[1] When external conditions thwart him, he resents it.[2] When illness or nervous exhaustion reduces his efficiency, he chafes and frets.[3] Unconsciously, perhaps, he still yields to the desire to excel: he must feel himself better, stronger, more efficient, wiser in spiritual things, than others. He must observe counsels of perfection he would not recommend to all.[4] There is a revealing touch in I. *Corinthians* ix. 15. Paul is replying to criticisms that have been passed upon his attitude in the matter of receiving relief from the Church. He affirms that by Scripture and by the word of Christ he has every right to be paid; that he is every bit as good as Peter and others who did take pay; but that he forbears to use his right—and why? "No one shall stultify my pride (καύχημα); I'd rather die!"

All this means that Paul had not yet fully carried through the process which he knew well was the only logical issue of his conversion. He had not made that final abandonment of any claim upon life for personal and individual pride and satisfaction which is involved in the surrender to God in Christ. Hence there are still elements in life, in the ways of Providence, in his own experience, to which he is not fully reconciled. Apparently it needed a further spiritual crisis to bring him right through. This crisis seems to be reflected in *II. Corinthians*, and most clearly reflected if we accept the very widely held critical view that this epistle is composed out of parts of two letters (with perhaps a fragment of a third in vi. 14-vii. 1). On this view, chs. x.-xiii. were written earlier than the first nine chapters. The situation then works out thus. Paul had had trouble with the Corinthian church. He resolved to pay a flying visit from Ephesus, confident that he had only to appear in person in order to re-establish his authority. He was disappointed. His opponents carried the majority of the church with them, and he found himself incapable of effective speech or action. He returned to Ephesus smarting under

[1] I. Cor. iv. 21. [2] "Satan hindered us," I. Thess. ii. 18.
[3] "A messenger of Satan to batter me," II. Cor. xii. 7.
[4] I. Cor. vii. 8-9.

bitter humiliation.[1] In a passion of resentment he wrote a letter full of caustic sarcasm and indignant self-vindication. This letter is represented by *II. Corinthians* x.-xiii. In ch. xi. he lets himself go—and comments "I speak as a fool." At least he had the grace to realize it! And moreover the same letter shows how in the depth of his humiliation he found firm ground. "I am strong just when I am weak."[2] That is not mere "paradox." It has profound psychological truth. So long as he chafed against unavoidable disabilities and reverses which wounded his prestige, he was losing the spiritual liberty and power which come from the abandonment of personal claims. But when he accepted his limitations he was liberated afresh. It is likely that he was ill at the time he wrote, and that before he recovered he came near death.[3] When he wrote again (*II. Corinthians* i.-ix.), it was in a strangely chastened mood. It is not only that he apologizes for the tone of his previous letter, and pleads for a restoration of his Corinthian friends' alienated affection. He also makes it plain that he has gone to the depths and made terms with the last realities. There is nothing in earlier letters like the quiet self-abandonment of *II. Corinthians* iv.-v.

Whether or not I am right in isolating this particular spiritual crisis as a sort of second conversion, it is at anyrate plain that in the later epistles[4] there is a change of temper. The traces of fanaticism and intolerance disappear, almost if not quite completely, along with all that anxious insistence on his own dignity. The new temper shows itself in the way in which the controversies of Romans and Colossians are conducted, in

[1] ταπεινὸς, ταπεινοῦν, II. Cor. x. 1, xi. 7, xii. 21 are the words he used; and ταπεινὸς in the mouth of a Greek was an insult; it was a *tour de force* of Christianity to make "humility" a virtue.

[2] II. Cor. xii. 10. [3] Cf. II. Cor. i. 8.

[4] I assume, with most critics, that the letters fall chronologically as follows: (i) the Thessalonian correspondence, (ii) the Corinthian correspondence, (iii) Romans, (iv) the Captivity Epistles. Galatians I should place along with the Corinthian epistles in group (ii); some would date it earlier. Recently proposals have been made for dating the Captivity Epistles earlier, but I cannot think that a case has been made out for any radical revision of the generally accepted order, even though the precise setting of any particular epistle may not be certain.

a generous recognition of the natural virtues of mankind,[1] in a sense of the values of ordinary family life [2] (which he had once depreciated as belonging to "the things of the world") [3] and in a sustained emphasis on the idea of reconciliation. It is in the epistle to the Philippians (possibly the last of his letters which we possess in an uninterpolated form) that we see most clearly what experience had made of this naturally proud, self-assertive and impatient man. "I do not reckon myself," he says, "to have attained. . . . I am pressing on towards the mark." [4] And he adds, "Let those of us who are mature take this view. If anyone takes a different view on any matter, God will make that matter plain to him. Only we must go by the principle at which we have arrived." [5] And when he thinks of the hardships he has endured, and the final sufferings which now impend, he no longer complains of the "messenger of Satan to batter me"; he no longer "glories" in his exceptional afflictions, as he once did (speaking "as a fool"); he is content to take things as they come. "I have learned to find satisfaction in the circumstance in which I am placed: I know how to be humiliated; [6] I also know how to enjoy plenty. I have been initiated into life as a whole and into all its several experiences." [7] His mind dwells upon "all that is true, all that is reverend, all that is just, all that is pure, all that is lovely, all that is of good repute—all virtue and all praise," [8] and "the peace of God which passes all understanding" is the "garrison" of his heart.[9]

[1] Rom. ii. 14-15, xiii. 1-7. [2] Cor. iii. 18-21, Eph. v. 22-vi. 4.
[3] I. Cor. vii. espec. 32-34. [4] Phil. iii. 13-14.
[5] Phil. iii. 15-16. It is regrettable that the A.V. here follows an inferior text, which transforms this expression of a wide tolerance into a plea for uniformity.
[6] ταπεινοῦσθαι. In II. Cor. xi. 7, xii. 21, the word is used with bitterness of Paul's humiliation at Corinth, and the adjective ταπεινὸς similarly in II. Cor. x. 1. To be ταπεινὸς is for Paul, as for the Greeks, something naturally distasteful. But he has learned to accept it.
[7] Phil. iv. 11-12. [8] Phil. iv. 8-9. [9] Phil. iv. 7.

LETTERS OF THE FIRST BABYLONIAN DYNASTY.[1]

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THIS second instalment of First Babylonian Dynasty Letters in the Rylands Collection contains fourteen letters. It will be seen from the copies of the tablets that the originals are in a bad state of preservation. In some cases it is impossible to discover the main thought of the letter. The value of the letters therefore is chiefly linguistic.

899.

a-na Gi-mil- . , ki-bi-ma,
um-ma E-tel-pî-(il)Marduk-ma
(il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk etc.
. . . .
i-na (âl) Di-im- . . . .
A . ŠÀ (um) ša (âl)Dī- . . . .
aš-šum A . ŠÀ Bi-ir-bi aš di še gur . . . .
mu-ú i-na nârim(im) ša-tu-ú (m) É-a- . . .
il-li-kam-ma a-na me(?)-e ti-iṣ-bu-ta-ni
ma-di-iš ib-il . . -an-na aš-šum A . ŠÀ-šu
me-e la pa-na . . . Bi-ir-bi aš-di wa-ši-ib
a-na-ku aš-šum û-ma-at ŠE . GIŠ . NI i-ša-ar-ka
a-na (âl)MÁ . LAḪ (ki) at-ta-la-ak
ša Il-šu-ba-ni im-ḫu-ru-ma ŠE-šu-nu ta-ir
A . ŠÀ šu-ú ú-ul ta-na-an-di-im
GUD(zun)-šu-nu i-ri-ku-ma ŠÀ . GAL e-li-tam-ma
i-ka-lu ù A . ŠÀ ni-ha-aṭ-ṭi
ŠE . GUR i-na (iṣ)MÁ . GUR ṣi-nam-ma 10 UKU . UŠ(meš)
ga-du (iṣ)KU-šu-nu ù 10 ZAB(meš) e-li-ka
a-na aš-lum ša-da-di-im ṣi-im-ma li-bi ur-ra-am
a-na (âl) MÁ . LAḪ (ki) li-is-ni-ku-nim
mi-di UD I KAM ta-ka-la-šu-nu-ti
GUD(zun) *i-ri*-ku ù ŠE . GIŠ . NI ša i-na (âl) . .
ṣi-nu . -mu-um i-ka-ša-dam-ma

[1] In continuation of the article which appeared in the July (1932) issue, pp. 507-528.

aš-šum A.ŠÀ (âl)MÁ. LAḪ (ki) 6 GUD. APIN (zun)
ša i-na A.ŠÀ šu-a-ti i-ḫa-at-tu-ú
4 GUD.APIN ma-ia-ar . . -ḫa-zu
2 GUD.APIN i-ri-šu GUD (zun) . .
(R) ša-at-tum i-ta-ri-ik-šu-nu-ši-im-ma
am(?) ú-ul i-ka-ša-du 14 SE.GUR
ḫi-ṭu-um ib-ba-aš-si SE. GUR a-na PAD.É
ma-aḫ-ri-ka ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši-ma ta-ka-la-šu-nu-ti
i-nu-ma ḫa-ba-tum ša ḫa-ab-ba-tam
a-la-kam li-pu-šu-nim
li-ik-ka-lu-nim a-na-ku ar-ḫi-iš
SE.GIŠ.NI lu-ut-ba-la-kum
e- . . . 2 GUD i-na (âl)KI. KAL.LA
im-tu-tu

Edge: GUD(zun)-šu-nu i-na wa-ar-ka-zu-nu pu-ru-uš La- . . im ik-ga-ba-ru
I GUD a-na ri-bi-im ma-ru-us- . šu-up-ra-am

Summary: The opening lines of the letter are damaged; the few words that are legible suggest that perhaps water from a river had overflown a field in which were the sesame and oxen of Gimil-., to whom this letter is written and for whom the writer is acting. It reports a journey to the city Malah, with items about the six oxen. Instructions are given to load a ship with 5 *gur* of barley and to take out ten officers (with their arms) and ten men to tow the boat; it is desired that they reach Malah by day(?) and that they be detained for one day. Liability will not fall on Gimil-. The sesame will be taken to him by the writer; but of the oxen, two are dead and have been buried (enquiry should be made after these) and one is sick.

900.

a-na Gi-mil-ia ki-bi-ma
um-ma E-ṭel-pî (il)Marduk-ma
(il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk etc.
mi-di ID.A.ŠÀ ša i-ba-aš-šu-ú am-ta-ḫa-ar
aš-šum . . . . . bi ri iš ma
be-el . . . . ki i-li-šu
. . . . . .
a-nam uš-ta-a-bi-il-šu-ši ša-at al-di-im
i-na (âl)Di-la-nu-um a-ma-

a-na A.SÀ (âl)Bi . ir . bi ri-im ṣa-bi-im ga-tam aš-ta-ka-an
me-ḫi-ir-šu a-ma-ḫa-ar ul-li-ti-iš me-e a-ṣa-ba-at
ša šarrum a-na al-di-im ma-ḫa-ri-im . . -ni-a-ti-
li-ki-im i-na (âl) Di-la-nu-um (ki) (m)Šarrum ma-ḫa-ra-am ik-bi-ma
aḫ-ḫa-ar GUD(zun) ši-ip-ra-am
ti-iṣ-bu-tu aš-sum . (zun) ša . . (il)Za-mà-mà
ù (âl) . . . . (ki) mi-di ši ša ab-bu-ru-um-ma
ša aš-ta-na-ap-pa-ar-ma te-ma-am ú-ta-ar-ru-ni-kum
(R) *Very few lines complete: see copy.*

901.

a-na E-tel-*pí*-(*il*) . .
ki-bi-*ma*
um-ma Mu-na-we- . .
(il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk etc.
aš-šum me-iḫ-ri-im ša(?) (m) E-tel-pí-(il)Marduk
. . . . im-ḫu-ru
a-di am-ša-a-li me-iḫ-ra-am a-na . . . .
ú-ul i-di-nam ki-ma id-din(?)
ni-ṣa-ab-tu-ma me-iḫ-ra-am
nu-ša-ar-di 3 PAP . E (zun) . .
ip-te-ma mu-ú ú-ul i-ti . .
mu-u . . šu-tum ša i-la-ku . .
. A. ŠÀ ú ta ri im bi . .
. . i-na nâri ra-bi-ti
Reverse badly broken.

903.

a-na a-we-lim ša (il)Marduk ú-ba-al-la-tu-šu
ki-bi-ma
um-ma Ku-ub-bu-ti-ia-ma
(il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk etc.
(m)Na- . (il)En.lil . . . ú-lam-mi-da-an-ni
um-ma šu-ú-ma . . i-na . . . RÍ . KI
. . . iš-AN- . ú-lam-mi-id-ma
ra-bi-a-an ši-bu-ut RÍ. KI
. . -da i-ka-an a-ḫi-ia
ú-še-lu-ni-šum-ma
. -ú da ri sa an ni
(R) . . .
be-el a-wa-ti-šu
šu-ri-a-am-ma
i-na ekallim
a-wa-tu-šu li-na-am-ra

Summary: Following a report made by N., an order is given that the party in the suit be brought and his affairs be examined at the palace.

904.

a-na ša-pi-ri
ki-bi-ma
um-ma A-we-il-(il)Šamaš-ma
(il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk etc.
aš-šum 4 UDU MU-I (zun)
ša i-na ṭup-pi-ka tu-ša-bi-lam
i-na ka-ni-ki 5 UDU MU-I (zun)
ša-ak-nu
a-nu-um-ma (m)A-di-ṭa-bi
ù (m) Ib-ni-(il)Adad
4 UDU MU-I ḫa(?)-ak-mu
ù I UDU MU-I šu-ri-
(R) uš-ta-bi-la- . . .
Rest of reverse much rubbed.

To the *šapiru* official speak: thus says Awêl-Samaš. May Samaš and Marduk grant thee life for ever. Concerning the four sheep of one year which thou didst send according to thy tablet. There are five sheep put down on the sealed tablet. Now Aditabi and Ibni-Adad have sent four one-year-old sheep, fleeced, and 1 one-year-old sheep . .

905.

Fragment.

. . . . . -ti-ma te-mi ma-aḫ-ri-.
aš-ku-un-ma a?-ša-ri-iš it-ti-ia
it-ru-ú a-na ma-aḫ-ri-ka
it-ta-al-kam ni-ši-šu
iš-tu Babili (ki) ú-ṣi-ni-šum-ma
(iṣ)MÁ ú-ul i-ba-ši-ma
um-ma šu-ma bu-li-it-an-ni
(R) 2 lines broken away
ma-aḫ-ri-ka 1 (iṣ)MÁ
. . li-iš-ku-nu
ù . . aš-šu . . . -ma
ri-ša li-ki-il
a-na ša aš-pu-ra-kum
End of Fragment.

906.

a-na a-we-lim ša (il)Marduk
ú-ba-al-la-tu-šu
ki-bi-ma
um-ma (il) Marduk-na-ṣi-ir-ma
(il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk da-ri-iš û-mi li-ba-al-li-tu-ka
a-*nu*-um-ma 2 ŠAḪ(zun)
ki-ma I ŠAḪ
a-na ekallim uš-ta-bi-il
. ZAB-am i-di-in-ma
(R) . . a-na Babili(ki)
li-iš-šu-ú
(*il*)Marduk li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka
ù li-iš-ša-a .

To the *awêlum* whom Marduk has kept alive, speak : thus says Marduknaṣir : May Šamaš and Marduk grant thee life for ever. I have sent to the palace two pigs instead of one. Give (me) (some) men and let them bring (them) to Babylon. May Marduk grant thee life and may he bring (? support thee ?).

908.

Fragment.

aš-šum (m)Li-pí-it-lš-tar (m) . -ab-na ma-lik (il) Šamaš
ù E-tel-pí (il) Šamaš su-ḫa-ri-ka
iš-ti-iš-šu ši-ni-šu
AN . ZA . KAR up-ta-ar-ri-id
a-we-li-e šu-nu-ti al-ki-a-aš-šu-nu-ti-ma
a-na Babili(ki) it-ta-al-ku
a-nu-um-ma a-aḫ Li-pí-it-lš-tar
ṭup-pí uš-ta-bi-la-ak-*kum* . . . . šu-ú
(R) mi-im-ma e-li-šu-nu u-ul i-šu
i-zi . . . šu-nu-ti
i-zi iṣ . . . .
ú-ul la-nu . . . šu-nu-ti
ša i-na A . ŠÀ(?) *ma-ia*-ri-ma ?
ma-am-ma-an ú-ul i-šu

Concerning L., X, and E thy young servant. Once, twice, the "tower" property has been divided (?). I took those men and they have gone to Babylon. The brother of Lipitištar has now taken my tablet to thee.

910.

a-na a-we-lim ša (il)Marduk ú-ba-al-li-tu-šu
ki-bi-ma
um-ma Ia-an-ti . . . -ma
(il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk etc.
lu-ú ša . . . a-ša
aš-šum (iṣ)MÁ (zun) (?) . . (meš)
ša aš- pu-ra-ak-*kum* (iṣ)MÁ(zun) ši-na-ti
ú-ul ú-wa-še-ru
a-na ŠE . UD-e-ne-šu-nu
da-an-na-tum ša-ak-na
na-ta-at a-wa-tum
(R) (iṣ)MÁ(zun) ši-na-ti
li-wa-še-ru-ma
ŠE . UD-e-ne li-ša-ar-ki-bu-ma
KÙ . UD i-ra-aš-šu.

To the *awêlum* whom Marduk has kept alive, speak : thus says Ianti-. May Šamaš and Marduk give thee life for eternity of days.

Regarding the ships of which I wrote to thee. They have not sent on those ships. Force (pressure ?) has been put on their . . The matter is in order. Let them send forward the ships and transport the . . , and they will receive money.

911.

a-na a-we-lim ša (il)Marduk
ú-ba-al-li-tu-šu
ki-bi-ma
um-ma Li(?) -pu-uš-ma
(il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk etc.
a-na šu-ul-mi-ka aš-pu-ra
šu-lu-um-ka šu-up-ra-am
i-na . . ki-a-am aš-pu-ra-ak-ku
um-ma a-na-ku-ma
. . . . ú-ul
. . . -ka
(R) . . bi-ti ša Ḫa-am-pu- .
ṭup-pí ú-ša-bi-la-ak-kum
um-ma a-na-ku-ma
a-we-lam i-na bi-ti li-ki-e-mα(?)
me-ḫi-ir ṭup-pí-ia
tu-ša-bi-la um-ma at-ta-a-mα
a-we-lam uš-te-e-zi
ka-bi- . i-ka- .
. i- . en- . pu-uš
. . . ra-bi-ti-im-ma
(*Remainder, 3 lines, broken away*).

Summary : Lipuš writes concerning (the rightful ownership of ?) a house. He gives the order : "Take the man out of the house." He receives a reply : "I have put the man out."

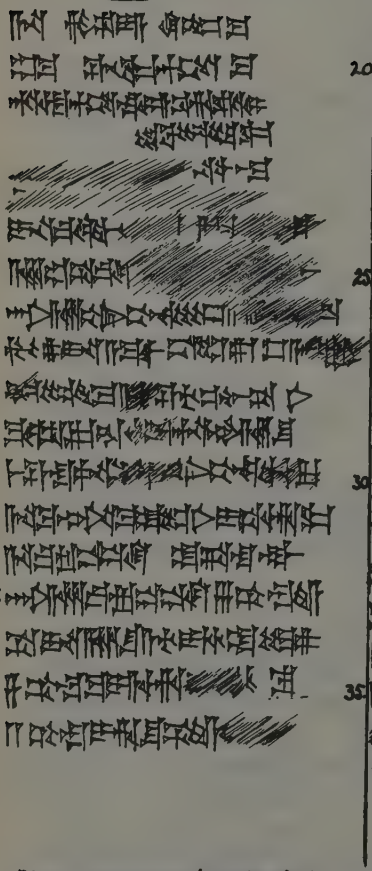
912

à-na a-we-lim
ki-bi-ma
um-ma Be-li-zu-nu-ma
(il)Šamaš ù (il)Marduk aš-šu-mi-ia etc.
(m) I-na-ša-ip-pi-el
il-li-iḫ-am-ma ki-a-am ik-ta-*bi*
um-ma šu-ú-ma ru-ba-tum
li-ib-bi ma-di-iš i-te-iḫ-*ḫi*
te-im lu-li-iḫ-ti-ka
šu-up-ra-am
bi-tu ú-ka-lu-ni
(R) *About* 8 *lines broken off.*
ša (il) Marduk . . .
uš-ta-bi-la-ku
i . -na ša . . -ka
ù . . . . -ru- .
1 TUG (?) BAR . SI . GA (??) uš-ta-bi- .
šu-lu-um-ka li-ra-šu ? .

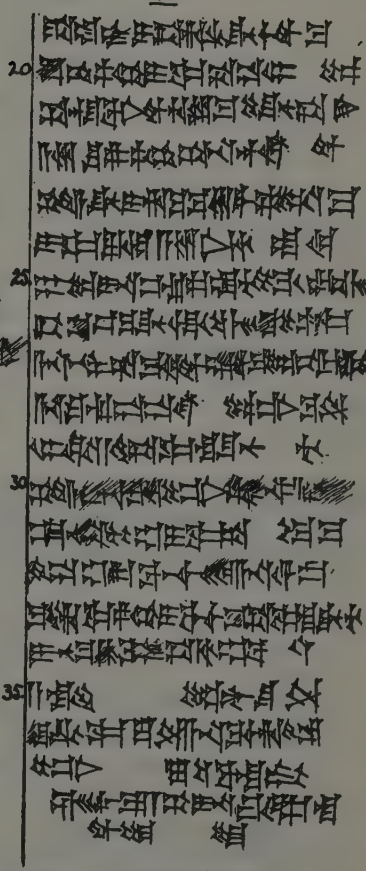
Summary : Apparently a report of another's distress ("hunger"), and, presumably, instructions are given in the matter.

899

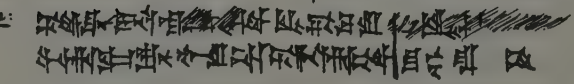
Obv.



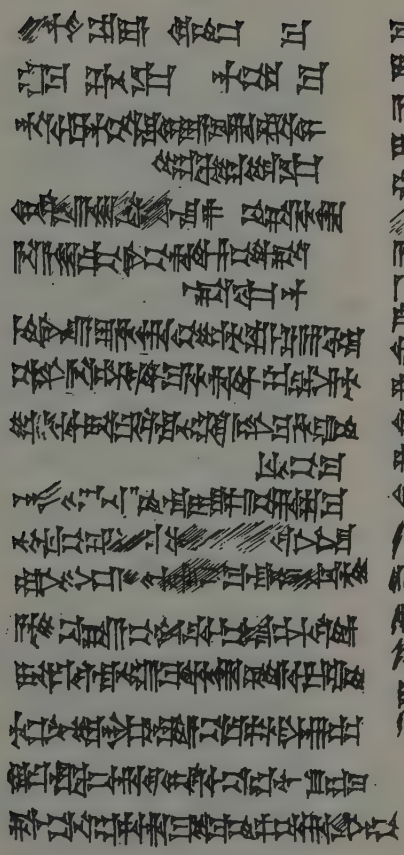
Rev.



Edge:

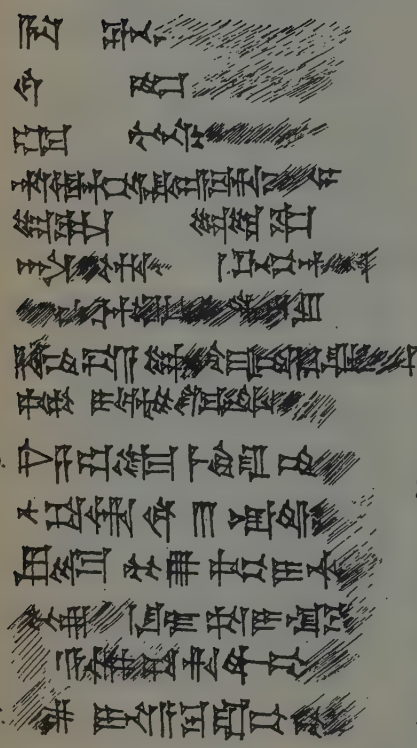


900

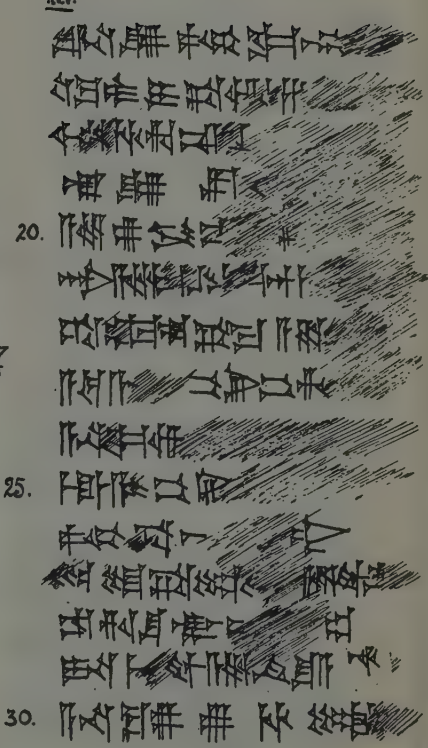


Here the tablet is broken: one or two lines: illegible

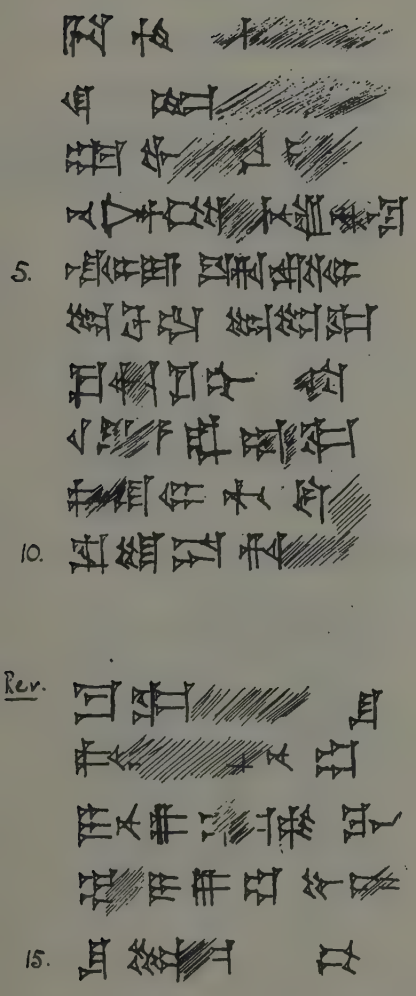
901.



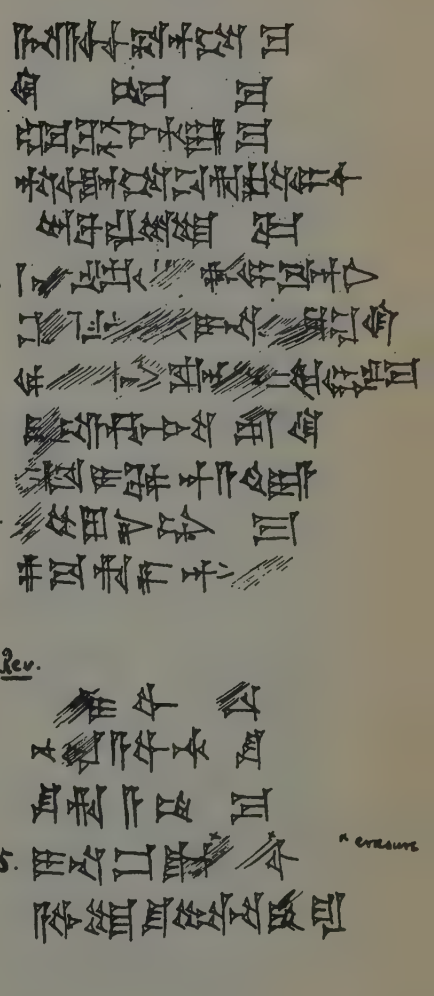
Rev.



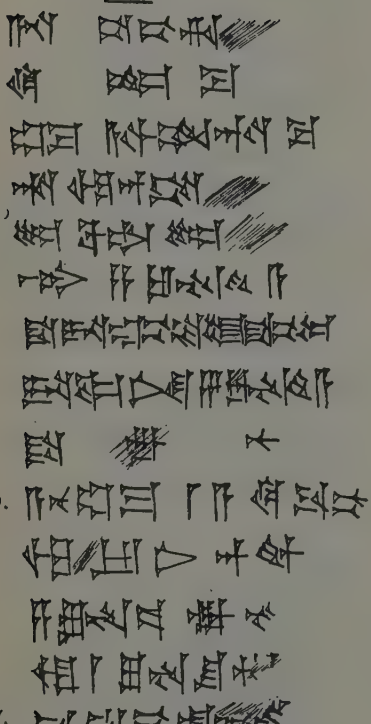
902.



903



904

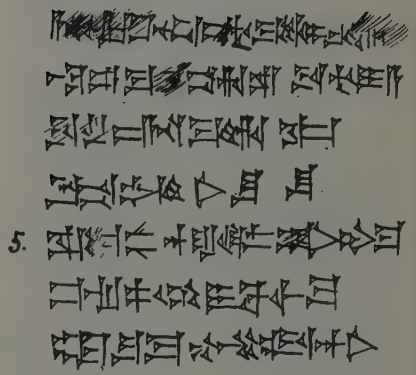


Rev.

Rest of Reverse, 14 lines, much rubbed.

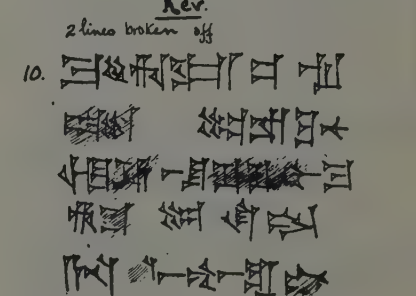
905.

Fragment. Obv.

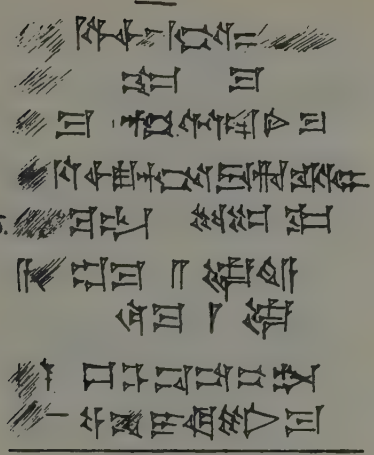


Rev.

2 lines broken off



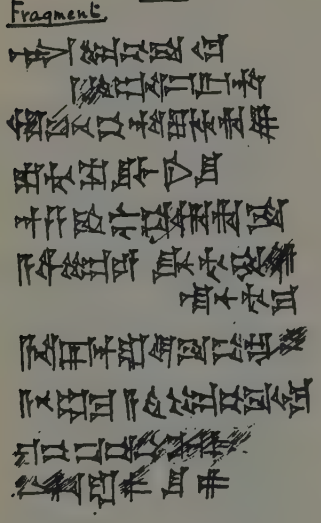
906.



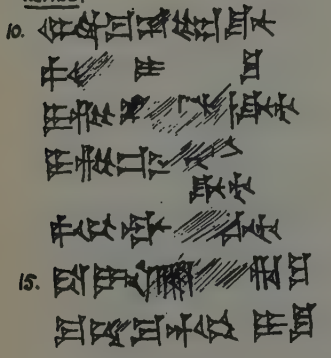
907.

908

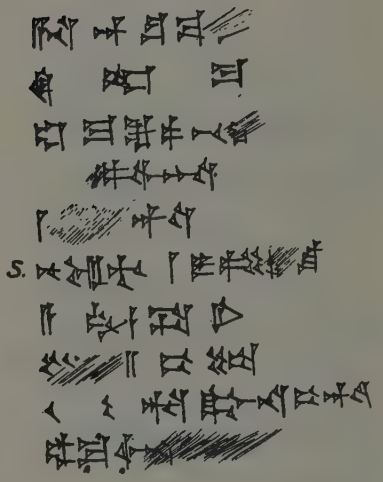
Fragment.



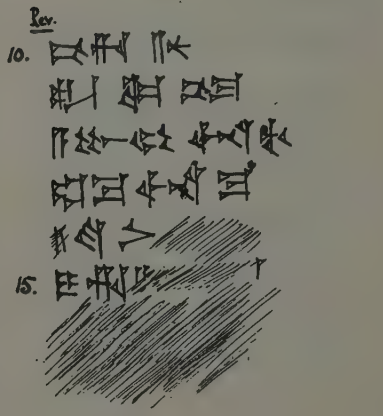
Reverse.



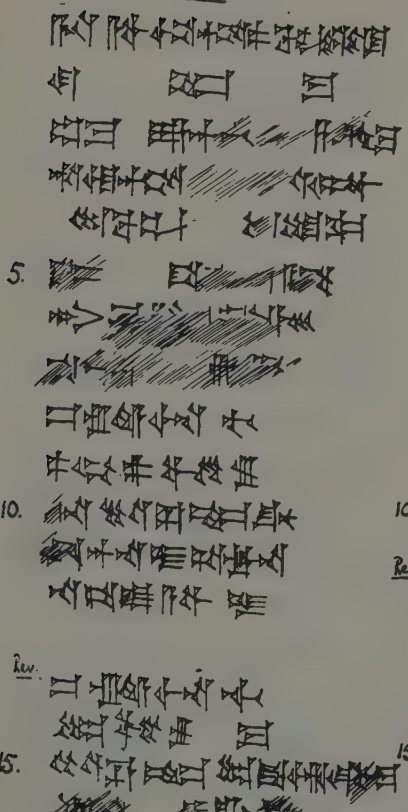
909



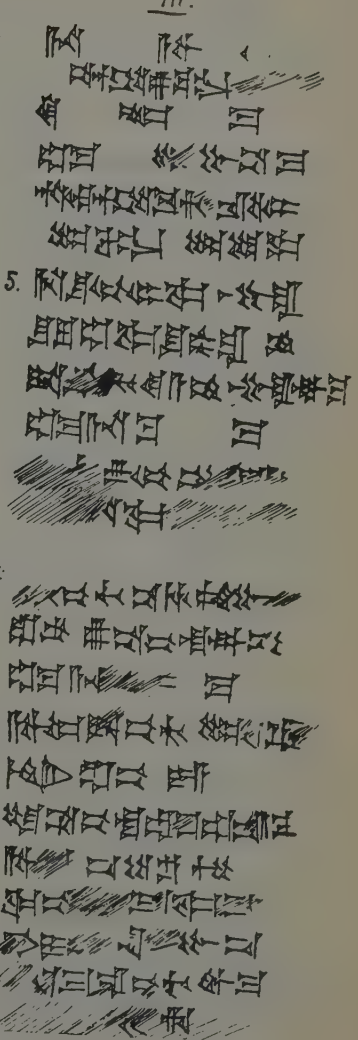
Rev.



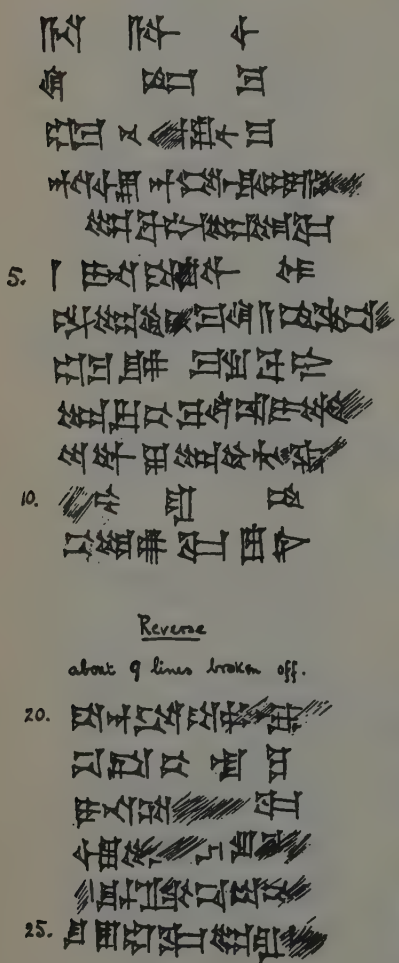
910.



911.



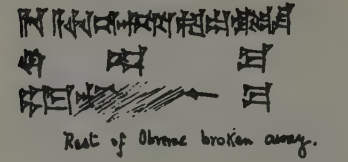
912



Reverse

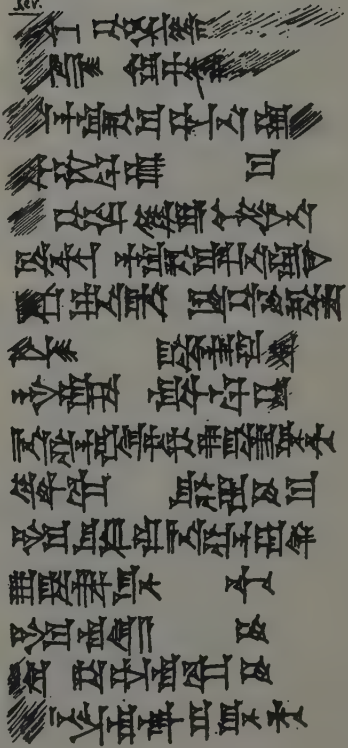
about 9 lines broken off.

913



Rest of Obverse broken away.

Rev.



EXEMPLA IN THE COMMENTARIES OF STEPHEN LANGTON.

By BERYL SMALLEY, B.A. (Oxon.), Ph.D. (Manch.).

BEFORE he became archbishop, Langton was famous both as a master of theology and as a preacher, and his commentaries on the Bible have special interest as showing the close connection between these two activities. They were delivered as lectures in the Paris schools (*circa* 1180-1206) and have come down in the form of notes, probably taken by his students.[1] In the course of his exposition the master instructs his pupils in the duty of preaching to the laity. He also uses many devices found in contemporary sermons;[2] among them is the *exemplum*, or short anecdote, intended to illustrate some particular moral point.

In a recent work M. Welter describes the evolution of the *exemplum*.[3] It was gaining ground at the end of the twelfth century, with the rise of popular preaching, and soon became one of the most characteristic features of medieval sermons, so that in the thirteenth century lists of *exempla* were drawn up and were a favourite aid to sermon making. The earliest known of these lists were compiled from the works of Odo of Cheriton (? -1247) and James of Vitry (1180?-1240).[4] M. Welter points

[1] F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (Oxford 1928). G. Lacombe and B. Smalley, 'Studies on the Commentaries of Cardinal Stephen Langton' in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen age*, v. (Paris 1930).

[2] B. Smalley, 'Stephen Langton and the Four Senses of Scripture,' in *Speculum*, vi. (Cambridge, Mass. 1931).

[3] J. Th. Welter, *L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen age* (Paris 1927). See also J. A. Herbert, *A Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum*, iii. (London 1910). P. Hervieux, 'Eudes de Cheriton et ses dérivés' in *Les fabulistes Latins*, iv. (Paris 1876). T. F. Crane, *The exempla of Jacques de Vitry* (London 1910).

[4] James of Vitry probably composed his sermons after 1227-28: Odo of Cheriton drew up a collection of fables after 1219; his sermons were written in 1219 and were probably in their finished form in 1247. Welter, *op. cit.* pp. 119 and 124.

out the important rôle of Paris masters in the development of the *exemplum :* they would see its possibilities in the classroom, then make use of it in their preaching.[1] This is a striking instance of the scholar's influence on contemporary life. It would be interesting to know how many of the stories in thirteenth century 'example books' were told for the first time by a lecturer to his pupils. Would they account for a large proportion of those in later circulation? The answer could only be found in copies of twelfth century lectures, which are abundant but nearly all unpublished. Langton's commentaries, however, show that it is a rich field. Certain of his *exempla* appear again and again in thirteenth century collections; the material common to Langton and Odo of Cheriton, for instance, is remarkable.[2] In several cases the commentaries would be an earlier source for these *exempla* than any which has so far been suggested, and although there is no proof that subsequent writers borrowed from Langton, his commentaries had an enormous circulation and may well have popularised the *exempla* that they contain.[3]

[1] Welter, *op. cit.* p. 26.

[2] Odo studied at Paris, 1214-1221, cf. Welter, *op. cit.* p. 123. Very little is known of his life, so he may conceivably have been at Paris earlier and have known Langton.

[3] Two *exempla* in thirteenth century example books can be traced to the commentaries of another Paris master, Peter the Chanter (d. 1197):

(i) The story of a preacher and his ass, used by Odo of Cheriton and others, occurs in his commentary on Job: *Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Lat. 15565*, f° 29^{v}. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, *op. cit.* p. 419, gives this as the source of the *exemplum.*

(ii) A story against usury. *MS. Egerton 1117*, f° 191^{a}, a collection of religious tales of the late thirteenth century (cf. *Catalogue of Romances*, p. 476). Refertur de quodam divite avaro civi Trivirense quod tantum delectabatur inde variis quod quasi qualibet die volebat eos numerare. Quadam die dum eos diligentius computareta udivit vocem dicentem sibi: ad quid nos computas? omnes sumus hic sed tui non sumus immo Galtheri Bucelli. Et sic factum est quia non multum post ipso mortuo eius uxor Galtherum duxit in maritium. Qui succedens in omnibus bonis defuncti expendit quidquid ab illo fuerat tenaciter congregatum.

The Chanter on *Eccl. xiv. 4*, *Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 15565*, f° 104^{d}: Unde Trecis contingit cum quidam usurarius numeraret nummos in pera pecunie audita est vox Romana lingua: omnes hic sumus sed cum Galtero Busello sumus, et mortuus est non longo tempore post usurarius et Galterus duxit eius uxorem et eius habuit pecuniam.

The following list includes all the *exempla* in Langton's commentaries on the Old Testament which are not drawn from Scripture, legend, or classical antiquity.[1] Where possible his source is given, together with a reference to the corresponding *exemplum* in the work of Odo of Cheriton, printed by Hervieux. Reference is also made to the *Speculum Laicorum*, a compilation made by an English mendicant at the end of the thirteenth century, edited recently by M. Welter who gives a list of all other works where each item is found.[2] Where Langton's *exemplum* does not occur in *Speculum Laicorum*, reference is given to the *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*. Nos. 16 and 17 seem to be peculiar to Langton.[3] Where Langton has drawn from a recognisable source the story is summarised; in other cases the text is reproduced in full. The last on the list (No. 18) is taken from his commentary on the Pauline Epistles and has already been printed by Mgr. Lacombe. It is included as a particularly interesting *exemplum*, a story about Abelard and the Cistercians.

It will be seen that Langton's choice of stories agrees with what we know of his character. The element of the marvellous and miraculous does not appeal to him; his anecdotes are pointed and humorous, the best of the curious *genre* which they represent.

The MSS. used are *Trinity College Oxford 65* for the Pentateuch, *Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 385* for Judges, *Rawlinson c. 427* for Kings and one version of the Minor Prophets, *Trinity College Cambridge 69* for a second version of the latter, *Laud Misc. 149* for Isaias, *Peterhouse College Cambridge 112* for Tobias.[4]

[1] The *exempla* drawn from these three sources are innumerable, since they cannot be distinguished from mere allusions thrown out in passing.

[2] J. Th. Welter, *Le Speculum Laicorum* (Paris 1914).

[3] M. Welter very kindly examined them and told me that he did not recognise them.

[4] The commentary on the Minor Prophets can be dated by one copy (*MS. Troyes 1046*) which is marked 1203 in a contemporary hand. That on Isaias followed it, and so may be placed between 1203 and 1206, when Langton left Paris. Internal evidence shows that the commentary on Kings was written after 1187 and not long after 1189: this gives a rough date for the whole Heptateuch and other historical books of the Old Testament, since they seem to have been expounded in sequence; cf. G. Lacombe and B. Smalley,

These were selected for convenience,[1] since the surviving MSS. are too numerous and their tradition is too diverse to admit of any detailed study of the text: most of the commentaries exist in two or three *reportationes*. It has only been possible to examine and classify a large proportion of MSS., but this has shown that the *exempla* are an integral part of the original work.

(1) Hermit refuses to help his brother, on the ground that he is dead to the world.

Gen. xv. 10: aves autem non divisit.

'Birds' represent religious, who are 'undivided' in the service of God.

Unde in vita beati Bernardi legitur quod cum quidam quereret a fratre suo heremita ut sibi succurat in temporalibus, ille respondit. Vade ad fratrem nostrum, et nominavit eum, et tibi succurat; et ille mortuus erat et ille stupefactus ait: ille mortuus est. Et ego similiter mortuus sum, dixit heremita. (*Trinity Coll. Oxford 65*, f° 41ª.)

The story is taken, with alterations, from the Vita Patrum (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, lxxiv. col. 379). This same version is given by Odo of Cheriton (Hervieux, *Parabola, xv.*) *Speculum Laicorum* (no. 44).

(2) Monk explains how to reach the Kingdom of God.

On the same text:

Item idem invenitur quod quidam accedens ad claustralem quemdam quesivit ab eo qualiter posset venire ad regnum Dei, et monachus exivit vestes et cingulo cinxit se et cucurrit. Per cursum devotio, per cingulum abstinentia sive obedientia, per nuditatem abrenuntiatio: et dixit ei: ita venies ad regnum Dei. (*ibid.*)

op. cit., and G. Lacombe, 'The Authenticity of the Summa of Cardinal Stephen Langton,' in *The New Scholasticism*, iv. (Washington 1930), pp. 102-106.

[1] I was able to work on the two Cambridge MSS. in Rylands Library through the kindness of Dr. Guppy and the Librarians of Trinity College and Peterhouse.

(3) *Gen. xxiv. 33 :* Abram's servant refuses to eat until he has told his message.

A cardinal visits France and is given a palfrey by a certain bishop. The bishop then comes to Rome and asks the cardinal's support. The cardinal returns his gift, saying, 'Now I have redeemed my freedom.' (f° 55d.)

Taken from a sermon by St. Bernard. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clxxxii, col. 782. *Speculum Laicorum* (no. 406). Among the works enumerated by M. Welter where this *exemplum* occurs is a sermon by Odo of Cheriton which has not been published by Hervieux.

(4) Man prefers to die rather than commit fornication.

Gen. xxxix. 12. Qui relicto in manu eius pallio fugit (the story of Potiphar's wife).

Unde quidam cum laboraret in lecto egritudinis et consularet medicos, ipsi dixerunt ei quod nunquam posset convalescere nisi cognosceret aliquam, qui ait. Malo centies mori quam fornicari, ac si diceret. Malo pallium relinquere quam dominam cognoscere. (f° 74d.)

A different story, which may possibly have some connection with this one, is told by James of Vitry (*Catalogue of Romances*, p. 19).[1]

(5) *Exod. xix. 5 : Eritis mihi in peculium de cunctis populis.*

A man raised from the dead by the prayers of a priest. (f° 122a.)

Taken from St. Gregory, *Dialogorum*, Lib. I, cap. 12, in *Pat. Lat.* lxxvii. col. 212. Odo of Cheriton (Hervieux, xxiv.).

(6) Archbishop of York weeps when pronouncing excommunication.

Exod. xxxii. 27 : occidat unusquisque fratrem et amicum et proximum suum.

Sententia enim ecclesiastica fieri debet non ex rancore vel odio sed ex amore, ut occasione sententie alii convertantur ad gremium ecclesie. Unde quidam archiepiscopus

[1] I owe this to the suggestion of M. Welter.

Eboracensis semper ferebat sententiam cum lacrimis. (f° 169d.)

(7) English prince refuses to transact business after dinner. *Lev. x. 9: Vinum . . . non bibetis.*

Item noli regibus dare vinum quia nullum secretum est ubi regnat ebrietas.[1] Exemplum de Anglico principe qui post prandium nulli consilium daret vel sero loqueretur. (f° 188c.)

(8) *Deut. xiv. 12: Immundas ne comedatis.*

A monk is found to have hoarded money. His body is thrown on the dung-heap. (f° 264a.)

Taken from St. Gregory, *Dialogorum*, Lib. IV, cap. 55, in *Pat. Lat.* lxxvii. col. 420.

(9) Man sells his cloak and lends the price at usury.

On the same text:

De hoc narrat dominus Parisiensis, qui hoc audivit de eisdem, quod quidam videns alios multiplicari in divitiis pellitiam suam vendidit et eius pretium ad usuram aliis concessit. (*ibid.*)

(10) *Jud. ix. 8-15:* Fable of the bramble chosen king of the trees.

A moralisation: the olive, the vine, and the fig tree represent religious refusing a bishopric. (*MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 385*, f° 150c.)

Told by Odo of Cheriton (Hervieux, cxl. and clxxvii.). See also the *Catalogue of Romances*, p. 34. The same moralisation occurs in the *Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum* (*Pat. Lat.* cxxv, col. 679).[2]

[1] *Prov. xxxi.* 4.

[2] The *Allegoriae* are printed among the works of Hugh of St. Victor. They are ascribed to Peter Comestor (d. *circa* 1178) by R. M. Martin, 'Notes sur l'œuvre littéraire de Pierre le Mangeur' in *Récherches de Théologie ancienne et mediévale*, III (Louvain 1931), pp. 56 ff. This is contested by A. Landgraf, *ibid.* pp. 357 ff.

(11) Woman tells bishop that he is eating her flesh.

II Reg. xxiii. 17: David refused to 'drink the blood' of those who fetched him water at the peril of their lives.

Et Micheas capitulo iii. Qui comedunt carnem populi mei et pellem eorum desuper excoriant etc.,[1] unde egregie cuidam episcopo qui ex religione abstinebat a carnibus, dixit quedam muliercula quod comederet carnes, quia a suis violentes exigebat talias. (*Rawl. c. 427*, f° 29c.)

Odo of Cheriton tells this story of a Cistercian Archbishop (Hervieux, cxiii.). In *Latin Stories* (no. 28, ed. Wright, from *MS. Arundel 52*) Baldwin, the Cistercian Archbishop of Canterbury, is named. In *Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 27909 B*, f° 5, a thirteenth century collection of moral sayings and tales, the same story with one slight difference is told of 'Becket's successor, a Cistercian.' Becket's immediate successor was a Benedictine, but Baldwin came next (1185-90). *Catalogue of Romances*, p. 71. *Speculum Laicorum* (no. 71).

(12) Bishop gives cure of souls to his nephew but will not trust him with pears.

IV Reg. xii. 15: Et non fiebat ratio iis hominibus qui accipiebant pecuniam ut distribuerent eam artificibus, sed in fide tractabant eam.

Certissima erat fides eorum. Similiter indubitabilis fidei debent esse quibus anime traduntur custodiende. Unde indiscrete dicitur quidam episcopus fecisse qui nepoti suo custodiam plurium animarum concessit, de cuius fide dubitavit quia noluit ei pira custodienda committere. (f° 46c.)

Odo of Cheriton (Hervieux, clxii.). *Speculum Laicorum* (no. 48).

(13) *Tob. iii. 17: Nunquam cum ludentibus miscui me.*

A girl converted by a vision of the Virgin (*MS. Peterhouse 112*, f° 156b): taken with slight alterations from St. Gregory, *Dialogorum*, Lib. III. cap 15. *Pat. Lat.* lxxvii. 348. Odo of Cheriton (Hervieux, cxxi.).

[1] *Micheas iii.* 3: a rough quotation.

(14) Despised monk is comforted by the Lord.

Isa. LI. 12 : Ego ego ipse consolabor vos.

Nota narrationis cuiusdam abbatis albi de quodam monacho peregrino quem alii minime consolati sunt. Et responsum est ei a Domino. Ego ipse consolabor te. (*Laud Misc. 149*, f° 72c.)

Odo of Cheriton gives an expanded version of this story (Hervieux, cxliv.) *Catalogue of Romances*, p. 398.

(15) *Osee xiii. 10 : Ubi est rex tuus? maxime nunc salvet te.*

An old knight, sick of the fever, tells his lord, 'Henry King of the English,' that he will enter the service of that Lord who can cure sickness at his pleasure. On recovery he becomes a Cistercian. (*Trinity College Cambridge 69*, f° 57c.) The same story is told on *Zach. vii. 11*, but Richard is the king mentioned (*ibid.* f° 184b). I have summarised this story which is told at great length. It was the most popular of Langton's *exempla*, see *Speculum Laicorum*, 518. The version most clearly resembling Langton's is contained in an anonymous collection, mainly derived from Odo of Cheriton, compiled towards the middle of the thirteenth century, *Harley 3244*, f° 74. (*Catalogue of Romances*, p. 457.) Here the details are substantially the same: the story is told of an old knight, ill with fever, and the King of England.

(16) Fulfilment of the prophecy that 'the stone shall cry out of the wall' against unrighteous builders.

Habacuc ii. 11 : Lapis de pariete clamabit.

Unde cum quidam palatinus canis cuiusdam regis, de rapinis et extractionibus domum miro scemate edificasset, rogavit quendam clericum ut titulum memorialem scriberet in introitum domus, quod et clericus fecit, dicens: facta domus furto, durabit tempore curto. (f° 143c.)

(17) Abbot passes his days of fasting in litigious business.

Zach. vii. 5 : Cum ieiunaretis . . . numquid ieiunium ieiunastis mihi?

. . . quidam enim acutius debitores suos repetunt, te repetendo diem fallunt. Unde audivi dici quod quidam

abbas qualibet sexta feria in pane et aqua ieiunans, ea die specialiter collectis faciendis et causis audiendis vacabat, ut falleret diem. (f° 183c.)

(18) Abelard rebukes the monks of Clairvaux for their respect of persons.

Jac. ii. 1-2 : Nolite in personarum acceptione habere fidem. . . .

Dicitur quod Magister P. Abaalardus, volens videre Ordinem Clarevallensem, solus intravit in vili habitu, et cum pauperibus pauperrime receptus est. Sed crastina die, receptis mutatoriis honorifice intravit capitulum eorum; et statim clamavit. Si introierit vir aureum anulum habens etc. Et ipsi habuerunt eum odio deinceps. (*Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 14443*, f° 438a). Printed by G. Lacombe, op. cit. 'Studies on the Commentaries, etc.,' p. 61.

The story follows up Langton's discussion of the views of Peter the Chanter on St. Augustine's gloss of James i. 1-2. The Chanter quotes this gloss in his commentary on Ecclesiasticus with the remark:

de quo (i.e. de acceptione personarum) Ordinem Cisterciensem multum arguebat.[1]

The Chanter's commentary on the Canonical Epistles has no reference to Abelard, but several thirteenth century copies have a marginal note written beside the comment on James i. 1-2:

Plura habeant exempla de acceptione personarum ut de Abaelardo intrante Clarevallense claustrum et de magistro G grammatico et de pontifice induto sacris qui usurario assurexit et ut ei cederent clerici iussit.[2]

The Abelard story had evidently become one of several commonly used to illustrate this text. It is told, with embellishments, by Odo of Cheriton. (Hervieux, clxx.)

[1] *Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 15565*, f° 102d.

[2] *ibid.* f° 150d. The note is in the same hand as the text. *Brit. Mus. MS. Royal 10*, c. V. has the note in a different hand from the text, but contemporary.

HAND-LIST OF CHARTERS, DEEDS, AND SIMILAR DOCUMENTS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY. II (1). DOCUMENTS ACQUIRED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

By MOSES TYSON, M.A., Ph.D.

THE collection of charters, deeds, and similar documents in the John Rylands Library consists of two large divisions: documents which have been deposited in the Library on permanent loan, and documents which have been acquired by gift or purchase. Both groups are growing rapidly in numbers.

It is intended to issue, from time to time, separate hand-lists of the documents on loan, following the practice inaugurated in 1923 by Dr. R. Fawtier's *Hand-list of the Mainwaring and Jodrell Manuscripts*. A list of the papers of another important Cheshire family, the Tattons of Wythenshawe, was also compiled by Dr. Fawtier, and may be consulted in the Library. Other collections are being arranged and described.

The listing of documents acquired by gift or by purchase was begun in 1925 by Dr. Fawtier in his *Hand-list of Charters, Deeds, and similar documents in the possession of the John Rylands Library*, I., which deals with documents classified under the headings of "The Beaumont Charters," "The Nicholas Papers," "The Medici Records," and "The Phillipps Charters," according to their provenance. He also arranged, and left preliminary notes on, the first two hundred and eighty of the documents listed below. This second volume carries on his work. It deals with groups of documents acquired from various sources, and varying greatly in size and importance. No general arrangement has been attempted, the original groups having been preserved, but it is hoped that the index will remedy any inconvenience caused by this practice. In describing the deeds the original spelling

of surnames and place-names is given, as it is occasionally of interest.

The numbers in square brackets [R. . . .] are the Library accession numbers, which are useful for staff purposes only. The other numbers should be cited for reference purposes.

[R. 29092] **1-25.** Formerly Latin MS. 264.

ALVINGHAM, YARBURGH and GRAINTHORPE (co. Lincoln).

1. Grant by Thomas Howet of Alvyngham to John, his son, and his wife Margaret. June 2, 1393. Seal.

2. Grant by John, son of Thomas of Alvyngham, and Amabilla, his wife, to John Pygot of Alvyngham. May 10, 1395.

3. Grant by Richard Pigote of Neyland (co. Suffolk), clothmaker, and Robert Osborne, clerk, to Charles Yerburgh, Christofer Mearys, gentlemen, Anthony Pygote, yeoman, of Whalley, and Richard Howett. June 27, 1508.

4. Confirmation by Charles Yerburgh of Yerburgh, Christofer Mearys of Carlton, gentlemen, and Anthony, son of Richard Pygott of Neyland, feoffees of the said Richard, to Thomas Philipp, Richard, son of Charles Yerburgh, George Mearys, Thomas Yerburgh of Alvingham, Robert Taylour of Hagworthingham and John Hurste of Yerburgh. Jan. 25, 1529. 3 seals.

5. Release by Richard Pygott of Neyland to Thomas Philipp. Jan. 27, 1529.

6. Release by Thomas Yerburgh of Alvingham and Robert Taillour of Hagewrthingham to Thomas Philipp of Denver (co. Norfolk). June 22, 1535.

7. Sale by Thomas Philipp of Denver to Thomas Yerburgh of Alvingham and others. June 23, 1535. Seal.

8. Sale by George Reynoldes and Alicia, his wife, to Thomas Yerdburgh. Aug. 10, 1541. Seal.

9. Sale by the same to the same. Sept. 8, 1541. 2 seals.

10. Grant by Richard Chambers and William Maners, guardians of the parish church of Alvyngham, to Richard Hard of Alvyngham. Dec. 16, 1543.

11. Grant by the same to Thomas Yerbrugh and William, his son. Dec. 16, 1543. 2 seals.

12. Sale by Dorothea Hawytt, daughter of Thomas Hawytt, late of Alvingham, to Thomas Yerburgh. Dec. 20, 1543. Seal.

13. Sale by Roger and Robert Taverner, gentlemen, to the same. July 8, 1544. 2 seals.

14. Bond of Roger Taverner of Alvyngham, gent., and others, to Thomas Yerbrugh and William, his son. Nov. 27, 1545.

15. Sale by William Howytt of Garnethorpe to Thomas Hall of Yerburgh. Nov. 30, 1546.

16. Bond of the same to the same. Dec. 2, 1546.

27. Sale by Ursula, widow of Thomas Hall of Tarrington, to Thomas Yarkwright of Aveningham. Aug. 24, 1574. Seal.

28. Sale by John Crathes of Kederminster in the parish of Lenthall, and Dorothea, his wife, to the same. Mar. 6, 1581.

29. Sale by Thomas Hall of Tarrington and Isabella, his wife, to the same. Aug. 8, 1581. 2 seals.

30. Sale by William Droope of Aveningham and Dorothea, his wife, to William Yarkwright of Aveningham. May 2, 1587. 2 seals.

31. Sale of William Droope to the same. May 2, 1587. Seal.

32. Agreement between John Parsons, Esq., lord of the manor of Wadbury, near Leintwardine, and the same. June 18, 157.

33. Release by Robert Pierce of Cornebie and Joan Pierce of Aveningham, sons of the late Richard Pierce of Aveningham, to their brother Thomas. Jan. 5, 1572. 2 seals.

34. Release by George Pierce of North Somercotes, son and heir of William Pierce of Castrington, to his uncle, Thomas Pierce of Aveningham. Jan. 5, 1572. Seal.

35. Sale of Thomas Harrison of Cornebie to William Yarkwright of Aveningham. Nov. 4, 1586.

R. 29980 36–48. Formerly Lacy MS. 26.

Wiltshire etc. Deeds.

36. Grant by Hugh, son of Richard of Salcote Sudbury, to Richard, son of William. n.d. (temp. Hen. III.)

37. Grant by Gilbert de Ki of Winterbourne and Juliana, his wife, to Thomas Brun of Sunningdale and Agnes, his wife. 5 Edward I.

38. Sale by Sewal de la Ye of Winterbourne to Walter, son of Peter of Winterbourne, and Catherine, his wife. Dec. 1, 1325. Seal.

39. Grant by Gilbert, son of Sewal de la Ye of Winterbourne, to his brother William. Dec. 1, 1325.

40. Grant by Sewal de la Ye of Winterbourne to William, his son. Sept. 21, 1326. Seal.

41. Grant by Peter, son of William Payne of Winterbourne, to Ernest alias Francoyse of Sudborne and Emmota, his wife. June 4, 1337. Seal.

42. Release and quitclaim by John Payne of Sudborne and Ernest, his mother, to Sewal de la Ye of Winterbourne. Dec. 4, 1342.

43. Release and quitclaim by Robert Payne of Sudborne to Sewal de la Ye of Winterbourne. Dec. 2, 1345. Seal.

44. Grant by John, son of Sewal de la Ye of Winterbourne, and Catherine, his wife, to William, their brother. May 6, 1355. 2 seals.

45. Grant by Sewal de la Ye of Winterbourne to William, his son. May 6, 1355. Seal.

46. Grant by John, son of Sewal de la Ye, to William, his brother. May 6, 1355. Seal.

37. Grant by Sayena de Ry to John, son of Margery, daughter of Cesselye Reynold. July 22, 1322.

38. Grant by John de Wodeborg of Middelton to Gilbert Le Barber of Sudber'. Dec. 4, 1323. Seal (imp).

39. Agreement between the same, from Sept. 29, 1324.

40. Confirmation by the same to the same. Sept. 29, 1324. Seal.

41. Grant by Katerine, widow of Walter of Middelton, to Laurence, son of Roger of Middelton, and John, his son. Nov. 15, 1324.

42. Grant and confirmation by the same to the said Laurence. Dec. 30, 1324. Seal.

43. Release and quitclaim by Robert Ryneshale of Sudbery to Nigel Tebaud and John Ryneshale of Sudbery. July 8, 1352.

[R. 35256-60] **44-48.**

PLYMPTON PRIORY, O.S.A. (co. Devon).

In 1848 these five charters belonged to Mr. Edward Hailstone and are mentioned, and Nos. 46 and 47 are printed, in the *Archæological Journal*, V, 57-62; see also G. Oliver, *Additional Supplement to the Monasticon dioecesis Exoniensis*, Exeter, 1854, pp. 14-15. The charters were endorsed in the 14th century *Carta lxx^{a}vi^{a}*, *Carta lxxvii*, *Carta lxxv*, *Carta lxxxxix*, and *Carta cxxx* respectively.

44. Grant by Gilbert de Ferrariis, son and heir of Sibilla de Pynu, lady of Blakestane. n.d. (early xiiith cent.).

45. Confirmation by the same of a grant made by his mother.

46. Confirmation by the same of the above and of various other grants. n.d.

47. Confirmation by William de Mewi of a grant by Walter de Mewi, grandfather of Gilda, his wife, with the assent of Wido, son and heir of Walter. n.d., but between 1202 and 1214.

48. Agreement between the abbot Thomas and the convent of Bokeland and the prior Matthew and the convent of Plimpton, brought about by Walter, bishop of Exeter, and other friends. Mar. 27, 1316.

[R. 28798] **49-52.** Formerly Latin MS. 262.

SWAVESEY PRIORY (co. Cambridge).

49. Agreement between John, prior of Suauesseia (Swavesey), and Master Simon of Wendeia (Wendy). n.d. (temp. Hen. III). 2 seals.

50. Approval by John de Camezan', papal chaplain and "ipsius contradictariorum auditor," of a composition between Roger, prior of Swavesey, and Carlin Giberti, citizen and merchant of Florence, procurator of the said John. Aug. 31, 1257.

51. Grant and quitclaim by John Boualet of Swavesey to the church of St. Andrew of Swavesey and Geoffrey, the prior, and the monks of the same place. n.d. (temp. Hen. III).

52. Grant by Alan la Zouche to the prior, John of Punteseie, and his successors. n.d. (temp. Edw. III).

PETERSTONE PRIORY, O.S.A., in Burnham Overy (co. Norfolk).

[R. 29857] **53.** Grant by the prior and convent of St. Peter of Petyrstone to William Yelverton of a piece of land in Westlexham. Jan. 5, 1429. 2 seals, the " sigillum officii prioris " and the " sigillum commune et conventuale."

WESTACRE PRIORY, O.S.A. (co. Norfolk).

[R. 29856] **54.** Richard, prior of Westacre, Richard Holdych, esq., John Pagrave, esq., Edmund Geyton, gent., Sir John Swafham, " vyker of the parysshe Chirche of our lady seynt mary in Rougham," William Wayte, Edward Horn, William Patryk, and Thomas Withfoot of Rougham, witness that Sir William Yelverton, kt., of Rougham has granted to William Yelverton, the younger, esq., of Rougham, all his goods and chattels. May 8, 1478. 8 seals, the seal of the prior and 7 others, and a fragment of Geyton's seal. (Eng.).

TOFT (co. Norfolk).

[R. 29858] **55.** Release by Johanna, widow of Sir Walter de Montegomeri, kt., to her son, Robert de Greseleye, of the manor of Thoft. May 24, 1328. Seal.

WALESBY (co. Lincoln).

[R. 48223] **56.** Grant by Richard, son of Roger Kyng of Walesby, to Alexander de Pilkyntton. Feb. 8, 1330/1.

BOURNE (co. Lincoln).

[R. 48221] **57.** Grant by William Barkar of Brunne to John Barkar and Agnes, his wife. Feb. 7, 1403.

ENGLAND. COAST TRADE.

[R. 45818] **58.** Sixteen bills of lading, etc., concerning the following :—

(i) Symonde Smyth. The Mary and John of York, at Leim Regis from Kyngston super Hull. Mar. 9, 1585. Fragment of seal.

(ii) Isaac Collingwood and John Girlston. Sept. 3, (?) James I.

(iii) Roger Mason. The Jonas of Lenn, at Lenn Regis from Newcastle. Jan. 13, 1625/6.

(iv) Robert Farie. The Mayeflower of Yarmouth, at Boston. Sept. 13, 1626. See J. Rendel Harris, *The Last of the Mayflower*, Manchester, 1920, p. 83.

(v) William Jones. The Mary Rose of Newport, at Newport. June 27, 1656.

(vi) Thomas Parkinson. The Friendship of Stockwith, at Kingston super Hull from Seaton Sluce. July 30, 1692.

(vii) Robert Durrant. The Nicholas (?), at London from Newcastle (?). June 26, 1704.

(viii) Samuel Springall. The Thomas and William of Yarmouth, at Yarmouth from Newcastle. July 3, 1704.

(ix) William Foulds. The Goodwill of Scarbrough, at Harwich from Sunderland. Aug. 18, 1715.

(x) William Foster. The Diligence, at Sunderland from Hull. July 9, 1723.

(xi) J. Pegg (?). The Brotherhood, at London from Berwick. April 12, 1725.

(xii) Robert Reed. The Blessing of Scarbro', at Newcastle from Lynn. Sept. 28, 1748.

(xiii) Richard Nicholas. The Richard and Sarah, at Poole from Newcastle. Aug. 7, 1732.

(xiv) B. Cook. The Farmer's (Profet?), at London from Berwick. Aug. 7, 1725.

(xv) George Richardson. The Good Intent, at Sunderland from Berwick. Mar. 15, 1777.

(xvi) John Banks. The Delight, at Liverpool from Whitehaven. May 3, 1790.

[R. 48222] **59-60.**

WEST HALL IN RUSKINGTON (co. Lincoln).

59. Court roll. Nov. 1, 1666. One skin.

60. Court roll. Oct. 13, 1670. One skin.

HOWSHAM HALL IN HOWSHAM (East Riding, Yorks.).

[R. 39327] **61.** Court roll. Feb. 7, 1743; Nov. 10, 1746. Two skins.

SIR JOHN THYNNE, KT.

[R. 39328] **62.** Court rolls for various manors belonging to Sir John Thynne of Longleat, co. Wilts. Twelve skins in all. They were formerly in the possession of Canon J. E. Jackson, editor of John Aubrey's *Wiltshire Collections*. They concern:

Frome and West Woodland (co. Somerset). .	Sept. 27, 1568
Wemisforde (? Winford, co. Somerset) . .	Oct. 4, ,,
Bagendon (co. Gloucester)	,, 5, ,,
Buckland and Laverton (co. Somerset) . .	,, 6, ,,
Corsley (co. Wilts.)	,, 10, ,,
Lullington (co. Somerset)	,, 15, ,,
Deverell Langbridge and Mounton Deverell (co. Wilts.)	,, 19, ,,
Kingston Deverell (co. Wilts) . . .	,, 26, ,,
Walton (co. Somerset)	Mar. 23, 1569
East Horrington (co. Somerset) . . .	,, 24, ,,
Frome and West Woodland . . .	,, 28, ,,
Lullington	,, 29, ,,
Kingston Deverell	,, 30, ,,
Deverell Langbridge	,, 31, ,,
Corsley	April 1, ,,
Winford (?)	,, 3, ,,
Bagendon	,, 6, ,,

Buckland and Laverton	April 7, 1569
Sutton parva (co. Somerset)	„ 10, „
Deverell Langbridge	Sept. 8, „
Frome and West Woodland	„ 22, „
Lullington	„ 23, „
Walton	„ 27, „
Buckland and Laverton	Oct. 1, „
Bagendon	„ 3, „
Kemisforde (? Kempsford, co. Glouc.)	„ ? „
Kingston Deverell	„ 10, „
Corsley	„ 13, „
Whitteborne (? Whitbourne, co. Hereford)	„ 20, „

JOHN LE SCROPE, 8th Baron Le Scrope of Bolton.

[R. 38924] **63.** *Rotulus curialis Johannis Le Scrope in partibus borialibus*, etc., 29 Hen. VIII. A roll of six skins. Formerly *Squire MS., Series I, vol.* 22, see the *Handlist of additions to the collection of Latin manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*. The places concerned, which are in the Ure and Swale valleys, N. Riding, Yorks., are :—

Thornton Rust	Oct. 15, 1537	Uckerby	„ 23, 1537
Carperby	„ „ „	Ellerton, Bolton upon Swale, Whitwell	„ „ „
East Bolton	„ 16, „	Caldwell	„ 24, „
West Bolton	„ „ „	Wynston	„ „ „
Redmire	„ „ „	Barnyngham	„ 25, „
Preston (under Scar)	„ 17, „	Newsham	„ „ „
Wensley	„ „ „	Brignall	„ „ „
Leyburn	„ 18, „	Dis(h)forth	„ 29, „
Harmby	„ „ „	Middleton (Quernhow)	„ 30, „
Thornton-Stewart	„ 19, „	Sutton-Howgrave	„ „ „
Ellington	„ „ „	Thornbarghe (Thornbrough)	„ „ „
Dounholme	„ 20, „		
(Kirkby) Fleetham	„ 22, „		
Fencote	Oct. 22, „		

EPPERSTON (co. Notts.).

64. *Epperston. Compotus Willelmi Phillipot ballivi ibidem*, etc., 14 Hen. IV- 2 Hen. V. Roll of two skins, one of which is cut in two.

[R. 32688] **65-162.** A collection of deeds, in French, concerning grants, sales, and agreements made before the King's Bailiff in Jersey, or his representative. The names of the chief people concerned, many of whom were connected with the family of Amy, are given below.

JERSEY (Channel Islands).

65. Jean, son of Thomas Amy; and Jean, son of Raulin Amy. June 20, 1469. Seal.

66. Richard, son of Jean Amy du Castillon, and Raulin, son of Jean Tourgis. Feb. 18, 1519/20.

67. The same and Jean Beart and his wife. Feb. 25, 1521/2. Seal.

68. Edmond Jauzon and Droet, son of Droet Anthoyne. Jan. 23, 1522/3.

69. Pierre Mourel and Pierre le Bourdon. May 25, 1530.

70. Richard, son of Jean Amy of Castillon, and Richard Poingdestre, otherwise Cosnard, son of Collas Poingdestre, otherwise Cosnard. May 21, 1534. Seal.

71. Jean de P . . . and Pierre Bertram. May 20, 1539. Seal.

72. Thomas, son of Philippe Falle, and Raulet Pelgay. May 5, 1541.

73. Thomas, son of Thomas Coignart, and Thomas Falle. Dec. 16, 1550. Seal.

74. The same and the same. Feb. 28, 1550/1.

75. Clement, son of Richard Amy du Castillon, and Thomas Anquetil, clerk. Apr. 22, 1553. Seal.

76. The same and Jacques, son of Robert Amy. Sept. 18, 1557. Seal.

77. Michiel Coignart and Thomas, son of Philippe Falle. Feb. 25, 1558/9. Seal.

78. Etienne la Cloche and Jean, son of Thomas Falle, and others. Mar. 25, 1565.

79. Francois Mallet, clerk, and Clement Amy. Jan. 23, 1568/9. Seal.

80. Power of attorney from Johennet (?) Blampie. Nov. 5, 1569.

81. William Dyrdo and Jean Latey. Feb. 4, 1569/70. Seal.

82. Noel, eldest son of Phelippin Coutances, and Richard, the second son. May 29, 1571. Seal.

83. Helier Amy and Philippe le Febvre and his wife. Nov. 29, 1572.

84. Raulin Descaves and Benest Vadier. Oct. 10, 1573.

85. William Dirdo and Clement Amy. Jan. 30, 1573/4.

86. Collas, son of Guillaume Beaugieu, and Bastian, son of Collas Palot. May 2, 1574. Seal.

87. Collas Roette, otherwise Rouet, and Nicolas Le Vavasseur. Oct. 2, 1574.

88. Collas Beaugieu and Katherine, daughter of Collas Palot. Nov. 1, 1574. Seal.

89. Clement Amy and Guillaume du Parcq, guardian of the children of Jacques Giffart. Feb. 5, 1574/5. Seal.

90. Bastien, son of Collas Palot, and Collas, son of Guillaume Beaugieu. Dec. 26, 1577.

91. Collas, son of Guillaume Beaugieu, and Helier, his brother. Sept. 21, 1578.

92. Foundation of a charity, giving food to the poor, by Clement Amy. Oct. 15, 1578. Seal.

93. Collas, son of Guillaume Beaugieu, and Nouel, son of Raulin du Feu. Apr. 5, 1579. Seal.

94. Vincent Pelgay and Jean, son of Thomas Falle. May 10, 1579.

95. Clement Amy and Laurens Baudoin. Aug. 22, 1579. Seal.

96. Edouard Baudoin and Jean Nicolle and Collette, his wife. May 28, 1580.

97. Clement Amy and Edouard Farre. Oct. 27, 1580. Seal.

98. Juillian Dolbel, Clement Amy and others. April 7, 1581.

99. Michiel, son of Guillaume Poingdestre, and Jean, son of Thomas Falle. Nov. 1, 1581. Seal.

100. Pierre, son of Collas Hormen, and Clement, son of Richard Baudoin. May 23, 1582. Seal.

101. Francois Amy appointed guardian of the children of Helier Dumaresq. Nov. 25, 1582.

102. Powers of attorney from Amys Merot to Francois Amy. May (?), 1583. Seal.

103. Francois, son of Clement Amy, and Pierre, son of Collas Hormen. June 8, 1583.

104. Barnabe Gryn and Marie le Rouytel. Jan. 18, 1583/4.

105. Collas, son of Guillaume Beaugieu, and Thomas, son of Jean Esture. June 6, 1584. Seal.

106. Francois, son of Clement Amy, and Bernaby Grin. Nov. 13, 1584. Seal.

107. Nicolas, son of Guillaume Beaugieu, and Clement, son of Francois la Folley. May 4, 1586

108. Jean, son of Servais Bertram, and Pierre, son of Edouard de Foulemont. Mar. 16, 1587/8.

109. Pierre, son of Louys Barbe, and Anthoine, son of Thomas Falle. Mar. 15, 1588/9.

110. Nicolas de Foulemont and Collas Beaugieu. Sept. 21, 1591.

111. Francois, son of Clement Amy, and Thomas Menyfis. July 12, 1595. Seal.

112. The same and William le Febvre. Nov. 22, 1595. Seal.

113. Richard Coustances and Helier, son of Helier Pain. Dec. 11, 1596.

114. Francois, son of Clement Amy, and Droet, son of Jean Le Boutilier. Dec. 28, 1596.

115. Richard Hubert and Guillaume Leonard. Jan. 21, 1597/8.

116. Francois, son of Clement Amy, and Collas Beaugie. July 16, 1597. Seal.

117. The same and Ynocent Querrault. May 5, 1598.

118. The same and Collas Beaugie. June 10, 1598.

119. Collas Beaugie and William Poingdestre, called Billot, guardian of Pierre, son of Louis Barbe. May 24, 1600. Seal.

120. Pierre Intize, Francois, son of Clement Amy, acting for the parish of Grouville, and Thomas, son of Helier Amy. Sept. 6, 1600. Seal.

121. Francois, son of Clement Amy, and Philippe, son of Collas Beaugie. Dec. 29, 1604. Seal.

122. ——, eldest son of Edmond Remeril, and Philippe, his younger brother. Nov. 1, 1606.

123. Jean, son of Michel Jaquet, and Thomas, son of Jean Rumerill. May 23, 1618.

124. Jacques, son of Jacques Fillene, and Jean Geffrey. Sept. 24, 1619.

125. Guillemine, daughter of Anthoine Payn, and wife of Edouard Herault, and Nicolas Bertram. Oct. 15, 1625.

126. Philippe, eldest son of Francois, son of Clement Amy, and Jean, his younger brother. June 12, 1628. Seal.

127. Thomas, son of Anthoine le Bourdon, and Jean, son of Francois Amy. April 21, 1632. Seal.

128. Jean, younger son of Jacques Filleul, and Jacques, his elder brother. Nov. 2, 1634.

129. Clement le Bourdon and Philippe Amy. June 7, 1638. Seal.

130. Philippe, son of Thomas Pirouet, and Jacques, son of Jacques Filleul. Oct. 1, 1639. Seal.

131. Philippe, son of Francois Amy, and Clement, son of Hugh Houper. June 19, 1641.

132. Bernabey, son of Jacques Pyrouet, and Thomas, son of Nicolas Bertram. Sept. 30, 1641. Seal.

133. Philippe, son of Philippe le Feubure, and Philippe Amy. Nov. 23, 1644. Seal.

134. Laurens Hamptonne and Jean Messervy. Apr. 11, 1646. Seal.

135. The same. (*Copié du livre des Registres*).

136. Marie, daughter of Jean Bertram, and Philippe Amy, her husband. Apr. 6, 1662. Seal.

137. The children of Jean le Breton, Francois, Genette, wife of Abraham le Geyt, Sarra, wife of Raulin Galie, and Philippe le Breton, the eldest son. Sept. 27, 1662. Seal.

138. Philippe, son of Philippe Hamptonne, and Laurens Hamptonne, attorney for Jean Poindestre. Nov. 1, 1662. Seal.

139. Jean, son of Jean Pain, and his nephew, Edouard, son of Edouard Pain. June 23, 1663. Seal.

140. Suzanne Essard, attorney for Jean Le Vavasseur, called Duvel, and Clement, son of Jean Chevallier. Jan. 24, 1667/8. Seal.

141. Clement, son of Clement Jennes, and Jean Poingdestre. Nov. 7, 1668. Seal.

142. Thomas, son of Jean Payn, and Jean Poingdestre. Dec. 31, 1670. Seal.

143. Jean, son of Jean Amy, and Jean Poindestre. Aug. 28, 1672. Seal.

144. Jean Dolbel and Augustin Colas. Nov. 19, 1674.

145. Augustin Colas and Jean Poingdestre. Feb. 4, 1674/5.

146. Richard, son of Jean de Carteret, and Jean Poingdestre. Feb. 20, 1674/5. Seal.

147. Charles de Carteret and Francois de Carteret. Sept. 23, 1675. Seal.

148. Richard, son of Jean de Carteret, and Jean Poingdestre. Jan. 18, 1676/7. Seal.

149. Pierre Filleul and Jean Poindestre. May 15, 1680. Seal.

150. Thomas, son of Clement de Queteville, and Jean Poindestre. Feb. 6, 1680/1. Seal.

151. Jervaize Kitchin and Jean Poindestre. July 2, 1688.

152. Appointment of Clement Chevalier as guardian of Clement, son of Clement Chevalier. Apr. 12, 1690. Seal.

153. Daniel Messervy and Philippe de Carteret. Nov. 29, 1693. Seal.

154. Charles, son of Jean Poindestre, and Daniel Valpy, called Janvrin. Feb. 25, 1707/8.

155. Philippe Dumaresq, lord of Anneville, and Francois, son of Clement Gaudin. Mar. 18, 1726/7. Seal.

156. " Clameur de Haro " against Nicolas Gallienne and other workmen of Mr. James Perchard. 8-22 Aug. 1730. Seal.

157. Powers of attorney from Jean La Cloche to Phle. Bandinel and Charles Poingdestre. Aug. 2, 1746. Seal.

158. Daniel Messervy and Richard Romeril. Mar. 4, 1758.

159. The heirs of Anne Brevin and Elizabeth Dumaresq. Dec. 16, 1769. Seal.

160. Harry and Philippe Burard, heirs of their uncle, the late Jean Thomas Durell, and Jean, son of Jean Poingdestre. May 29, 1802. Seal.

161. Daniel, son of Daniel Messervy, and Jean, son of Jean Poingdestre. Jan. 13, 1810. Seal.

162. Jean Poingdestre, sen., and Jean Poingdestre, jun. May 27, 1815. Seal.

HOO IN MINSTER (Isle of Thanet).

[R. 57429] **163.** Roll of six skins, headed " *Copia Cartarum de Hoo in Insula de Taneto*," on which are transcribed, in an early xvth cent. hand the following deeds :—

(1) Grant by John Sherne of Thanet to Geoffrey Criel. Jan. 6, 1355.

(2) Grant by Geoffrey Cyryel of Merdenne to Robert de Corby and Joan, his wife. Apr. 25, 1355.

(3) Grant by William Estwell to the same. May 2, 1361.

(4) Grant by Geoffrey Cyryel to the same. Apr. 25, 1355.

(5) Final concord between Robert de Corby and Joan, his wife, and Geoffrey Kyryel and Sarra, his wife. July 1, 1355.

(6) Grant by Geoffrey Cyriel to Robert de Corby. Apr. 24, 1355.

(7) Power to John at Hawe of Wodnesbergh and John Skyneyn to hand over lands granted by Geoffrey Cyryel to Robert Corby and Joan, his wife. April 24, 1355.

(8) Grant by Martin, son of John Sherene, to the same. Feb. 7, 1356.

(9) Grant by Robert de Elmham, rector of the church of alta dungre, Thomas de Lyndon, rector of the church of Lyndon, Thomas de Toucestre, rector of the church of Ripton Regis, William Goggeto, John Bardolfe, Symon Godwyne, William Cogley and Geoffrey Joye to Robert de Corby. lord of Lyndon, and Joan his wife. Feb. 2, 1357.

(10) Quitclaim by Martin Sherrene of Merdenne to Robert de Corby. Mar. 26, 1363.

(11) Grant by the same to the same. May 7, 1364.

(12) Quitclaim by the same to the same. May 7, 1373.

(13) Grant by Robert Corby to William Symme of Upcherche, William Eynesham of Croyden, and Hugo Boys of London. Aug. 24, 1390.

(14) Grant by Alicia, widow of Thomas atte Hoo the younger, to William Lofte of Swynton and Elena, his wife. Sept. 20, 1359.

(15) Grant by William Lofte to Robert de Corbi. Dec. 29, 1362.

(16) Grant by William Eastwell to Robert de Corby. May 10, 1361.

(17) Grant by Thomas Heldwolding of Woode to Nicholas Wotton of London and Joan, his wife. July 23, 1404.

(18) Agreement between Robert Corby and Thomas Boys. May 31, 1403.

BRAUNTON, ILFRACOMBE AND MARWOOD (co. Devon).

[R. 57431] **164.** Roll of five skins on which are transcribed, in a sixteenth cent. hand, the following deeds:—

(1) Indenture between Hugh Stucley, esq., and Lewis, his son and heir, on the one part, and Anthony Culme, youngest son of Hugh Culme, late of the parish of Molland in Devonshire, on the other part. Apr. 24, 1544. (Eng.)

(2) Release by Anthony, son of Hugh Culme, late of Molland, to Anthony, son of John Culme. Apr. 16, 1551.

(3) Release and quitclaim by Antony Culme of Shobroke, co. Devon, to Hugh Stuckley, kt., and Lewis Stuckley, esq. Jan. 20, 1551.

(4) Bond of Antony Culme, youngest son of the late Hugh Culme of Molland, to Hugh Stucley, esq., and Lewis Stucley, son and heir of the said Hugh Stucley. Apr. 24, 1544.

(5) Sale by Hugh Stuckeleigh, kt., and Lewis, his son and heir, to Hugh Culme. Jan. 15, 1551.

(6) Sale by Hugh Culme, esq., to Anthony, son of the late John Culme. Mar. 15, 1551.

(7) Release and quitclaim by the same to the same. Mar. 22, 1551.

(8) Release and quitclaim by Hugh Stuckeleigh, kt., and Lewis, his son, to Hugh Culme. Jan. 25, 1551.

(9) Release and quitclaim by Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Bremell, to John Culme. Oct. 23, 1469.

(10) Grant by the same to the same. Mar. 20, 1469.

(11) Powers of attorney from the same to Richard Clyffe, Walter Mauncell, and William Marys. Mar. 20, 1469.

(12) Grant by William Belmyslond, rector of the church of Heannton, and John Colyn of Southole to John Billynge, sen., and Agnes, his wife. July 26, 1388.

(13) Final concord between John Culme and Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Brenell. July 14, 1469.

(14) Release and quitclaim by Alicia Culme of Whitlackyngton, co. Somerset, widow, to Hugh Culme of Shoghbroke. Dec. 3, no year.

(15) Grant by Anthony Culme, gent., to his kinsman, Hugh Culme. Aug. 10, 1534.

[R. 57508] **165-166.**

BERMONDSEY (co. Surrey).

165. Court roll (in poor condition). 1638-39. Two skins.

166. Extracts from court rolls. 1692-95. Nine skins.

[R. 57507] **167-169.**

MENDLESHAM (co. Suffolk).

167. *Copy of proceedings in Court on a trial by a Jury before the Steward to determine the right of persons to copyholds of the Manor.* Sept. 1573. Roll of two skins.

168. Contemporary extracts from court rolls. Eleven skins. They concern :—

(1) Robert Morewell.	Jan. 21, 1579.
(2) Oliver Thrower.	Oct. 8, 1582.
(3) Cicelia Stevens, widow.	Apr. 17, 1572, etc.
(4) Oliver Thrower.	Oct. 8, 1577.
(5) Robert Meynell.	Jan. 21, 1561.
(6) John Morwhill.	Apr. 15, 1494.
(7) Thomas Morwhill.	May 5, 1489.
(8) Thomas Morfowle.	Jan. 28, 1530.
(9) Thomas Bryner.	Apr. 8, 1516.
(10) Henry Jesopp.	——, 1518.
(11) Richard Annys.	Oct. 1, 1563.

169. Extracts from court rolls. Two skins. They concern :—

(1) John Munnings.	Oct. 10, 1667.
(2) William Browne.	Apr. 27, 1696.

[R. 57693] **170-173.**

URCHFONT (co. Wilts.).

170. Accounts of the bailiff of the monastery of St. Mary, Winchester. Roll of three skins. 1448-49.

171. The same. Roll of two skins. 1522-3.

172. „ „ „ 1523-5.

173. „ „ „ 1525-6.

[R. 57428] **174-189.**

WHADDON, WINSLOW, ETC. (co. Bucks.).

174. Lease by Ann, queen of James I, to Lady Sybilla Gray. Mar. 2, 1607. Great seal of Queen Ann, imperf., see W. de G. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, etc., vol. i, no. 808.

175. Lease by George, Duke of Buckingham, to Martin Clifford, Thomas Paulden, and James Scudamore. Aug. 31, 1660.

176. Lease by the same to the same. Also powers of attorney to John Mosman and Thomas Glover. Sept. 1, 1660.

177. Lease by Sir William Humble, Bt., and John Garret, merchant taylor of London, to the Duke of Buckingham and Mr. Ranald Grahme. Aug. 15, 1664. Two seals.

178. Grant and release from the same to the same. Aug. 16, 1664. Two seals.

179. Release of a proviso by the Duke of Buckingham and Mr. Ranald Grahme to George, Duke of Albemarle, and Matthew Locke. July 30, 1667. Two seals.

179*a*. Indenture between the same and the same. July 29, 1664. Two seals.

180. Part of the Duke of Buckingham's revocation of a former settlement, and the security from him and his trustees to Matthew Johnson. July 4, 1678. Four seals, and a fragment.

181. Agreement between Nicholas Goodwin of Hammersmith and George, Duke of Buckingham. May 19, 1680.

182. Agreement between William Cherry of the Middle Temple and Thomas Browne of London relating to £1000 and interest belonging to Sir Robert Gayer of Stoke Poges. Mar. 26, 1684.

183. Lease by Mary, Duchess of Buckingham, to Francis Hayes of London. June 28, 1697. Seal.

184. Release by the same to the same. June 29, 1697. Seal, imperf.

185. Declaration of Trust by Francis Hayes. July 8, 1697. Seal.

186. *A Generall Survey and Plan of Two Coppices in Whaddon Chace known by the Names of Briery & Slade* 1785.

187. Transcript of letter patent appointing John, Earl of Bridgewater, Lord Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire. July 17, 1662.

188. Appointment of Deputy Lieutenants by the same. May 9, 1681. Seal, imperf.

189. Release by Thomas, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Robert Clayton, kt., trustees of the Duke of Buckingham, to Charles Twitty and Samuel Brewster. Nov. 25, 1697. Four Seals.

[R. 58099-58103, 59146-51] **190-266.** Deeds presented by the late Sir William Henry Vaudrey.

HASLINGTON (co. Chester).

190. Grant by Adam de Welock of Hasselynton to William, son of his son Nicholas, and his wife Margery, daughter of William, son of Mabel de

Munsulf. n.d. "*Hiis testibus Domino Willelmo de brereton, Ricardo de Prahers, Matheo de bechynton, Ada del Wode, Nicholao de chircheleys, Rectore, et aliis.*"

191. Quitclaim by Margery, daughter of William, son of Mabel de Munshull, to Ralph, son of Ralph del Rugges. Feb. 7, 1326/7. Seal.

192. Lease by William Malbone to Hugh ffeton. Nov. 7, 1412. Seal, imperf.

193. Grant by the same to Nicholas Chirche and Robert Heyfeld, chaplain, of lands in Haslington and also in Balterley (co. Stafford). Nov. 12, 1495. Seal.

194. Memorandum of the agreement of Mr. Ralph ffoulehurst in a dispute with Ralph Malbon to accept the award of Mr. George Bromley, lieutenant Justice. n.d. "*Thez being wettenez William Bruerton knyzt William Moreton escuier.*" (Eng.).

ECKERSLEY, NEAR LEIGH (co. Lancs.).

195. Agreement between Hugh del Croysse and Katherine, his wife, and John of Haylgton. Jan. 23, 1372.

LITTLE BOLTON IN PENDLETON (co. Lancs.).

196. Grant by Richard de Boulton to Henry, his son. May 25, 1324.

197. Quitclaim by the same to the same. Sept. 4, 1326.

198. Quitclaim by Alicia, widow of Richard, son of Henry de Boulton, to Henry, son of Richard de Boulton. May 29, 1351.

199. Lease by Henry de Boulton to John le ffytheller of Barton. Oct. 2, 1351.

200. Lease by John Gowyn to Adam de Aynesworth and John and John, his sons. Mar. 19, 1357.

201. Grant by Richard Goweyn to William Byrom. Oct. 6, 1433. Seal (imperf.).

202. Lease by Henry Stappar, chaplain, to John Hope and Joan, his wife. Nov. 7, 1451. Seal, partly defaced.

203. Quitclaim by John Legh, son and heir of Margery, daughter and sole heir of Thurstan Gawen, to the said Margery, now wife of Thomas Smethwik of Smethewik. May 14, 1499.

204. Covenant by John Gawen of Worsley (co. Lancs.) and Robert Barlowe of Lytell Bowltone, that Thomas Tyldysley, gent., and Margery, his wife, late widow of Ralph Malbone, shall enjoy in peace the mansion house called the Waste, etc. Jan. 22, 1569/70. Two seals, defaced. (Eng.).

PENDLETON (co. Lancs.).

205. Grant by Geoffrey de ffere, chaplain, to Henry Gowyn. Sept. 12, 1390.

206. Grant by Thurstan Tildesley, esq., Alicia, widow of Richard Radclif and Richard Ewode, vicar of the church of Eccles, to Richard Gawen. Nov. 3, 1447. Fragment of one seal.

207. Conveyance by William Warmingham, yeoman, Peter Hilton, and Margaret, his wife, to Edmund Gooden of Little Bolton. Jan. 6, 1619. (Eng.).

208. Conveyance by Edmund Gooden to Peter Hilton. Jan. 8, 1619. (Eng.).

209. Counterpart of the same. Jan. 8, 1619. Seal.

210. Settlement of property, etc., prior to the marriage of John Rylands of Manchester, mercer, and Martha, daughter of Henry Wrigley of Salford, yeoman. June 29, 1641. (Eng.).

210*a*. Conveyance by Emma Rylands, widow, and John Rylands to Edward Holbrooke of Manchester, apothecary. June 28, 1641. Seal. (Eng.).

211. Grant to levy a fine of land by John Briddock of Chetham, and Ellen, his wife, to John Rylands. Aug. 7, 1641. (Eng.).

211*a*. Final concord between John Valentine, gent., and Abraham and Joseph Myllne. Aug. 30, 1647.

212. Conveyance by Martha Rylands of Manchester, widow, and her grandson, Thomas Valentine of Trinity College, Dublin, to James Hilton of Withingreave in Manchester, gent. Sept. 27, 1698.

213. Recovery by Robert Lowndes, gent., against John and Richard Starkey. Aug. 30, 1720.

ECCLES, BARTON, LITTLE HAUGHTON, WORSLEY, AND BEDFORD (co. Lancs.).

214. Grant by John de Radeclif, parson of the church of Buri, to Robert, son of William de Eccles. Jan. 28, 1338. Fragment of seal.

215. Grant by Thomas, son of John Valentyne, late of Shaghe, and Joan Longtre, his widowed mother, to Thurstan Tyldisley, Richard Longtre, esq., Richard Penleythmon, John Pooles, chaplain, Robert Holond, and Charles Daveinport. Sept. 15, 1516.

216. Grant by Thomas Valentyne to his illegitimate sons, John and Richard Valentyne. Oct. 24, 1536.

217. Grant by Cuthbert Hill of Garsyde in Rochdale, gent., to Thomas Vallentyne of Beanecliff, gent. Apr. 15, 1604. (Eng.).

FLIXTON (co. Lancs.).

218. Grant by John, son and heir of Thomas Valentyne, to the said Thomas, his father. Dec. 4, 1476.

SHAW (co. Lancs.).

219. Award by Sir John Bothe of Barton, kt., Andrew Caryngton of Caryngton, esq., and Thomas Hyde of Urmeston, esq., arbitrators, between Jane, widow of Gilbert Longtre, and Catherine, widow of John Valuntyne. Aug. 13, 1508. (Eng.).

HULTON (co. Lancs.).

220. Grant by Thomas Valentyne and John his son, to George Valentyne, son of Thomas. Apr. 4, 1487.

221. Powers of attorney from George, son of Thomas Valentyne, to Geoffrey, his brother, to receive seisin of lands from Richard Bruche, gent., and James Bruche, clerk. Mar. 8, 1498.

JOHN VALENTYNE AND THE COMMITTEE OF SEQUESTRATIONS.

222. "*Order for settinge the fyne.*" Aug. 12, 1651.

223. "*Coppy of the peticion & affid^{t}.*" June 24, 1651.

224. Account of the proceedings against John Valentyne of Beancliffe.

225. "*Coppy of the order of Suspencion.*" Aug. 22, 1651.

LANCASHIRE.

226. Bond of Ralph Becheton, Richard Vernon, esq., and Thomas Lathum to Ralph Malbon. Aug. 3, 1501.

227. Agreement between John Leche of Grantham (co. Lincoln) and Ralph Malbon of Harlerton (Hatherton ? co. Chester) concerning Lancashire lands. Nov. 11, 1505. (Eng.).

228. Discharge to Richard Valentine, esq., late Sheriff of the county of Lancashire, for the year ending Michaelmas, 1713.

BROMEHOWSELANE (co. Lancs.).

229. Assignment from Genete Traves of Bromehowselane, widow, to Edmund Traves, her son. May 5, 1595. (Eng.).

WALTON LE DALE AND CUERDALE IN BLACKBURN (co. Lancs.).

230. Grant by Richard Walton of Walton in le dale to John Wode, chaplain, and Catherine, daughter of Nicholas Holande. Aug. 24, 1492.

MANCHESTER (co. Lancs.).

231. Grant by Henry del Mulnegate, chaplain, to John Gowyn. Apr. 27, 1338.

232. Final concord between Michael Dickonson and John Shalcross. Aug. 9, 1630.

233. Bond of John Rylands of Manchester to Emblen Rylands of Manchester, widow. Sept. 10, 1638.

234. Lease by Richard Heyricke, clerk, Warden of "the Colledge of Christ in Manchester founded by kinge Charles," and the Fellows of the said College to Richard Meare of Manchester, haberdasher. Mar. 15, 1661. (Eng.).

235. Lease by James Hilton of Manchester, gent., to Richard Allen of Reddiwalle (Bury) and Robert Gartside of Prestwich, yeoman. Oct. 2, 1693. (Eng.).

236. Settlement prior to the marriage of James Hilton of Withingreave and Elizabeth, daughter of Martha Ryland, widow. Oct. 3, 1693. (Eng.).

237. Assignment from Thomas Booth of Haigh in Mottram to his natural son, William Booth of Denton. July 8, 1699. (Eng.).

238. Bond of John Tetlawe of Godley to George Booth of Haughton. Feb. 10, 1706/7.

239. Lease by Edward Booth of Manchester to Henry Wrigley of Langley and John Green of Manchester. Apr. 6, 1708. (Eng.).

240. Mortgage by James Birch of Didsbury to Alexander Tomlinson, otherwise Bowerhouse, and others. Feb. 4, 1709/10. Half of deed cut away. (Eng.).

241. Appointment by Thomas Wainwright, LL.D., of William Booth of Denton, yeoman, and Henry Booth of Manchester, linendraper, as tutors and guardians of the children of the late George Booth of Houghton. Oct. 1, 1710.

242. Final concord between Henry Booth, complainant, and Eliza Newcome, widow, Henry Newcome, clerk, Ann, his wife, Nathaniel Banne, clerk, Eliza, his wife, Benjamin Prichard, clerk, and Ann, his wife. Mar. 25, 1721.

242*a*. Counterpart of the same.

243. Lease by Henry Booth of Manchester, merchant, to Jonathan Patten of Manchester, linendraper. Dec. 6, 1729. (Eng.).

244. Lease by William Broome of Didsbury, esq., to Nathan Crompton, jun., Thomas Bradock, James Edge, George Ward, James Drury and William Frodsham all of Manchester, merchants. June 13, 1788. (Eng.).

245. Release by the same to the same. June 14, 1788.

246. Grant of a pew in St. John's Church, Manchester, by Joseph Lingard, fustian manufacturer, and Edward Wharmby, executors of the late John Norris, cabinetmaker, of Manchester, to Samuel Norris of Manchester. Nov. 5, 1792. (Eng.).

247. Presentment by the jurors of James Sutcliffe, labourer, of Manchester. Nov. 10, 1794. (Eng.).

STOCKPORT (co. Chester).

248. Bond of William Arderen, Henry Hertelegh, Ralph Hertelegh and Robert Redford to Richard Smyth. Nov. 4, 1514.

249. Conveyance by Oliver Dodge to William Holme, otherwise Chorleton, of Heaton Norris. June 1, 1603. (Eng.).

250. Agreement touching the levying of fines between Alexander Elcocke of Poole, John Robinson and Oliver Dodge of Stockport on the one part, and William Holme. July 1, 1603. (Eng.).

251. Quitclaim by Oliver Dodge and Elizabeth, his wife, to William Hulme, otherwise Chorlton. Apr. 28, 1605.

252. Assignment by Edmond Joydrell, the younger, of Yeardsley (co. Chester), to Edmund Shalcrosse, B.A., of Stockport. Nov. 29, 1627. (Eng.).

253. Agreement touching the levying of a fine between John Hulme of Stockport, mercer, and Edmund Shalcrosse, B.A. Nov. 30, 1627. (Eng.).

254. Lease by George Ridgeway of Offerton, cowper, and Margaret, his wife, to Edmund Shalcrosse, M.A. May 30, 1632. (Eng.).

255. Grant by Edmund Shalcrosse, M.A., to John Woodcock of Macclesfield. Oct. 24, 1634. (Eng.).

256. Assignment by Robert Yeveley of Langley (co. Chester) and Dorothy, his wife, formerly wife of John Woodcock of Upton, to Thomas Newton of Stockport. June 6, 1662. (Eng.).

257. Counterpart of the same.

258. Assignment by Richard Holme of Manchester and Peter Holme of Liverpool, merchant, to Henry Ellis, otherwise Thomas, of Stockport, gardener. May 1, 1755. (Eng.).

WORSLEY (co. Lancs.).

259. Indenture of apprenticeship of Thomas, son of Richard Barns of Worsley, to Francis, Duke of Bridgewater, etc., for learning "the Art or Mystery of a Drawer and getter of Coal or Cannel." Aug. 24, 1796. (Eng.).

LONDON.

260. Lease by Thomas Rogers of Westminster, sadler, to Nathaniel Ryley of East Greenewich, baker. Oct. 25, 1659. (Eng.).

261. Mortgage by Rose Howell, widow, and Emma Jacob, widow, to John Thomson, innkeeper. Dec. 15, 1680. (Eng.).

262. Conveyance from Roger Sanbee, victualler, Emma, his wife, Rose Howell, widow, and Thomas Pellinge to Edward Smith. Oct. 22, 1681. (Eng.).

263. Release by the same to the same. Oct. 22, 1681. (Eng.).

264. Conveyance from Nathaniel Ryley to Edward Smith. Dec. 15, 1685. Seal. (Eng.).

265. Lease by Ann Stalker of Bath, widow, to William Whitelegg, haberdasher. May 14, 1750. (Eng.).

266. Administration of the goods of Thomas Richardson, late of Portugal, private soldier, granted to Edward Richardson, his father. Feb. 6, 1817. (Eng.).

MOTTENDEN FRIARY (co. Kent).

[R. 8569] **267.** Grant of confraternity by Brother Richard, minister of the house of Motyndon in the diocese of Canterbury, of the order of the Holy Trinity and of the redemption of captives, to Robert Parke and Alicia, his wife. 1495.

This was bought together with an Indulgence dated Feb. 26, 1498, printed in London by R. Pynson or Wynkyn de Worde.

BEWDLEY (co. Worcester).

[R. 57542] **268.** Testimonial of the fitness of Edward Oasland, preacher in the town of Bewdley, to be ordained a minister of the Gospel. Mar. 28, 1694. (Eng.). Presented by T. Cave, Esq.

LONG PRESTON (co. Yorks.).

[R. 58001] **269.** Lease by Thomas Clerke of Hallfield (Yorks.) to Thomas Snell of Long Preston. June 13, 1640. (Eng.). Presented by Mrs. M. Jackson.

LANCASTER (co. Lancs.).

[R. 23504] **270.** Certificate of the Mayor of Lancaster declaring William Bare of Cartmel, flaxman, to be a burgess. Jan. 28, 1757. (Eng.).

JAMAICA.

[R. 23504] **271.** Letter from the Office of the Commissioners of Compensation to the Rev. Edward Wilson, Congleton, concerning slaves in the parish of St. Elizabeth and on the Whitbeck estate, Jamaica. Sept. 20, 1837.

[R. 24652] **272-276.** Documents concerning Messrs. Stewart and Watson, booksellers, Dublin.

DUBLIN.

272. Will of John Watson of the Merchants Kay. June 18, 1768. Proved Jan. 23, 1769. (Eng.).

273. Marriage articles of Alicia Stewart and Thomas McPherson, merchant. Mar. 8, 1799. (Eng.).

274. Will of Thomas Stewart, 1800. Proved Apr. 28, 1802. (Eng.).

275. Lease by Elizabeth Tudor, Isabella Tudor, Mary Fleming, otherwise Tudor, Rachael Tudor, Harriet Tudor, Charlotte Jackson to Thomas McPherson. Mar. 28, 1810. (Eng.).

276. Mortgage by Thomas McPherson to John Watson Stewart. July 22, 1816. (Eng.).

[R. 35744] **277-280.**

LONDON.

277. Sale by Thomas Fowler, sen., kt. and his sons, Thomas Fowler, jun., kt., and Edmund Fowler, to Richard Burton of Cowecrosse. May 21, 1606. Three seals, imperf.

278. Exemplification of a dismission in the Chancery Court between John, son of Richard Burton, and Nathaniel Axtell and Margaret, his wife. Mar. 4, 1642. Imperf. Large fragment of Great Seal.

279. Final concord between George Copping and Nathaniel Axtell. May 12, 1684.

280. Bond of Daniel Piper of Sedlescombe (Sussex), carpenter, to Robert Greene of Ashburnham. June 13, 1693.

[R. 57586] **281-283.**

NUNEATON (co. Warwick).

281. Patent granted to William Hodgson Gratrix of Nuneaton, ribbon weaver, for "certain Improvements in Looms for weaving Ribbons and other Fabrica." Oct. 10, 1845. Great Seal. (Eng.).

282. Specification of the above invention. Apr. 7, 1846. (Copy).

283. Assignment of his patent by the above to John Taverner of Attleborough Quarry, Nuneaton. Apr. 27, 1847. (Eng.).

CORNWALL.

[R. 40068] **284.** Patent creating William Killegrew, esq., of Arwinicke (Arwenack), a baronet. Dec. 22, 1660. Great seal. (Eng.).

[R. 54098] **285-700.** A miscellaneous collection of deeds relating to Lancashire. They are written in English, unless otherwise stated.

ACCRINGTON AND FLAXMORE IN HASLINGDEN.

285. Surrender by Mary Barlow of Croichlowfold in Tottington to James Haworth of Tottington. Oct. 22, 1765.

ALDCLIFFE.

286. Assignment by Margaret, Elizabeth, Jane, Ellen, Dorothy, Katherine and Ellenor Dalton of Aldcliffe to John White. Nov. 6, 1661.

ANGLEZARK.

287. Lease by Sir Richard Standish of Duxbury, baronet, to John Taylor of Anlizarke. May 15, 1686. Seal.

288. Lease by Jonathan Haslom of Longworth to John Taylor of Rivington. Dec. 5, 1748.

289. Sale by James Monk of Heapey to Edmund Tatham of Duxbury and Robert Hodson of Chorley. May 28, 1795.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.

290. Feoffment from Robert Slater of the Woodhouses within the parish of Aston under Lyne and Nicholas Slater of Littlemosse, his son and heir, to John Sandford, second son of John Sandford of the High-Ashes in Audenshawe. Apr. 1, 1645.

291. Mortgage by John Ridley of Alt to William Fryer of Envil, otherwise Enfield. Dec. 27, 1786.

ASHTON-UPON-RIBBLE.

292. Lease by Stanley Worden of Tulketh, gent., Helena, his mother, widow of James Worden, late of Tulketh, clerk, and William Lemon of Preston to Ralph Ashton and Jeffrey Prescott, both of Preston. Mar. 7, 1710/1.

293. Agreement between Henry Bickerstaffe, gent., plaintiff, and Stanley Werden, gent., and Mary, his wife. Mar. 25, 1745.

BAILRIGG.

294. Bond of Thomas Preston of Bailrigg to William Patchet of Scotforth. Mar. 16, 1609.

BALDERSTON.

295. Lease by Mary Hodgkinson of Preston in Amounderness to William Haidock of Preston. Feb. 4, 1640. (Copy).

BARWICK.

296. Bond of Sir Robert Bindlos of Barwick, Bt., to Ezra Woolston of Haltongreene. Mar. 5, 1655/6.

BISPHAM.

297. Conveyance from John Albin of Bispham to James Sanderson. Mar. 14, 1675/6. (Imperf.).

298. Conveyance from Elizabeth Willson of Whitholme to her son, John Willson. Jan. 25, 1666/7.

299. Conveyance from William Fisher of Bispham to John Albin and John Butcher of Much Carleton. Jan. 18, 1667/8.

BLACKBURN AND BOLTON.

300. Agreement between William Jones, plaintiff, and Thomas Hurst and Grace, his wife, relating to lands, etc., in Samlesbury and Darcy Lever. Mar. 19, 1763.

BLACKLEY.

301. Probate of the will of John Buerdsell. Mar. 19, 1711.

BLACKROD.

302. Sale by William, son of George Shorrocks, to Richard Turner of Aspull and Miles Turner of Haighe. Apr. 7, 1617.

303. Lease by William Hesketh, esq., of Maynes to Henry Bleasdale of Blacksticks within Chippin. Jan. 3, 1721/2.

304. Will of Adam Gregory of Blackrod. May 3, 1722.

305. Lease by Adam Gregory to James Makon and Thomas Starkie, both of Preston in Amounderness. Mar. 17, 1745/6.

306. Plea of James Bancks, clerk, against James Makon and Thomas Starkie, gentlemen, at Lancaster. Mar. 22, 1746/7.

307. Bond by Adam Gregory, George Gregory and Ann Gregory, sons and widow of Thomas Gregory, late of Blackrod, to the Rt. Hon. Lady Mary Stanley, daughter of the Rt. Hon. Edward, Earl of Derby. Dec. 30, 1748. (Eng.).

BOLTON LE SANDS.

308. Conveyance from Richard Genkinson to Robert Chippendale. Jan. 31, 1615. (Eng.).

309. Conveyance from Robert Daltoun of Thurnham to William Jackson. Oct. 26, 1608.

310. Conveyance from the same to the same. Oct. 26, 1608.

311. Release by Brian Chaffer to Robert Chippindale. Sept. 29, 1612.

312. Lease by Henry Peele of Peele, Yorks., to John Bancks. Oct. 31, 1617. Seal.

313. Conveyance from John Bruse to Robert Chippindale. Feb. 13, 1619.

314. Bond of the same to the same. Feb. 13, 1619.

315. Conveyance from Henry Peele of Peele-houses in Bolton nigh Bolland, Yorks., and Robert Thorneton of Crownest in Lonesdall, Yorks., to William Jackson. Apr. 15, 1619.

316. Conveyance from Mark Lodge to John Gibson and Matthew Lodge. Aug. 15, 1623.

317. Conveyance from George Garner and Margaret, his wife, to Matthew Lodge. Mar. 24, 1622.

318. Conveyance from Edward Kempe, blacksmith, to John Gibson. Dec. 12, 1640.

319. Release by John Simpson of Floockburgh in Cartmell, and Richard Chapman, the elder, to Thomas Simpson of Torisholme. Feb. 6, 1668/9.

320. Conveyance from John Sparelinge of Beamond Coate, John Masheter, and Thomas Chapman, both of Boulton-le-Sands, to Thomas Chippindall. Feb. 18, 1669/70.

321. Bond of Geabrell Nealle to William Mann. Nov. 9, 1652.

322. Release by William Weilles to Henry Ayrey and Jennett, his wife. Jan. 15, 1684/5.

323. Release by John Jaques, clerk, and Elizabeth, his wife, to Henry Ayrey and Jennett, his wife. Jan. 20, 1684/5.

324. Conveyance from George Preston, Innholder, to Josias Dickinson of Nether Kellett. June 8, 1687.

325. Lease by Josias Dickonson of Bolton juxta Arenas to Matthew Richardson of Lancaster. Feb. 2, 1713/4.

326. Lease by Robert Atkinson of Lutherborne in Cartmell to Thomas Long of Warton, maltster. Aug. 22, 1729.

327. Release by John Borranskill of Lancaster, ironmonger, and Thomas Green of Slyne, gent., to Jeremy Woodworth, carpenter. Feb. 1, 1731/2.

328. Mortgage by William Holme of Burton in Kendal, Westmorland, innkeeper and cordwainer, to Lawrence Parkinson of Burton, writing-master. Feb. 7, 1758.

329. Contract for sale by Henry Preston of Bare, and Margaret, his wife, to Thomas Cornthwaite of Caton, maltster, and Joseph Bainbridge, innkeeper. May 2, 1764.

330. Conveyance from George Waler to John Jenkinson. Feb. 28, 1654/5.

330*a*. Bond of the same to the same. Feb. 28, 1654/5.

330*b*. Bond of the same to the same. Feb. 13, 1657/8.

331. Assignment from Laurence Parkinson of Burton-in-Kendal to Robert Russell of the parish of St. Brides, London, turner. Mar. 22, 1766.

332. Proposals for the sale of the lands of the late Thomas French, and the bid made by Richard Sparling. Sept. 11, 1773. (Copy).

333. Lease by William French, house carpenter, Edward Thornton of Lancaster, rope-maker, Elizabeth, his wife, Jane French of Lancaster, spinster, to Richard Sparling, the younger, tanner. Feb. 14, 1774.

334. Agreement between James Folds and James Kay, plaintiffs, and William Wood, Sarah his wife, Adam Lomax, Mary his wife, Thomas Cross, Mary his wife, John Longworth and Betty his wife, at Lancaster. Aug. 14, 1779.

335. Lease by William Withers of York, esq., Recorder of York, to Ephraim Atkinson of Lancaster. Feb. 15, 1796.

BREIGHTMET.

336. Lease by William Greenhalgh, John Greenhalgh and Ellis Greenhalgh to Thomas Smith of Bolton in le Moores, gent. Nov. 27, 1691.

BROUGHTON IN CARTMELL.

337. Conveyance from Robert Barrow to William Knipe, gent. Jan. 31, 1665.

338. Declaration of uses of a fine, etc., by Benjamin Whitehead of Garstang, gent., and John Dickonson of Overkellet to William Knipe of the Middle Temple, London, gent., Henry Dicconson of Manchester, William Bush of Netherkellet and Elizabeth, his wife. Dec. 20, 1699.

BURSCOUGH.

339. Lease by Richard Hawett of Leverpoole, merchant, to Thomas Hawett of the same, navigator. 1711. (Incomplete.)

BURTONHEAD-IN-SUTTON.

340. Agreement between James Kennyon, gent., and John Barnes, gent. Aug. 10, 1628.

340*a*. Conveyance from James Kenion, yeoman, to John Birde of Wichchurch in the county of Shrosbery. Jan. 4, 1630.

BUTTERWORTH AND CASTLETON.

341. Release by John Taylor of Smethurst Hall in Bircle-cum-Bamford to Richard Ormerod of Burnley Wood. June 23, 1778.

CARLETON.

342. Conveyance from Thomas Barker to John Wilson of Whitholme within Great Carleton. Jan. 9, 1628/9.

343. Conveyance from John Dicconson of Eccleston, near Crofton, and Margaret, his wife, and Joseph Dicconson, their son, to Robert Fisher of Heskin. Apr. 1, 1675.

344. Court Baron proceedings relating to John Fynn. Oct. 19, 1717.

CATON.

345. Grant by William Norres of Heaton to George Hampson of Heaton Norres. July 22, 1593.

346. Conveyance from Nicholas Hodgson of Caton to Richard Hadwen, jun., of Carneforth. May 10, 1623.

347. Conveyance from John Layborne of Skelsmore, Westmorland, esq., and Mary, his wife, to Richard Lea of Caton. July 29, 1629.

348. Bond of James Hynde to John Berrie. June 8, 1635.

348*a*. Bond of John Berrie to James Hynde. June 8, 1635.

349. Conveyance from the same to the same. June 8, 1635.

350. Release by Richard Aynsworth to Thomas Birry. June 27, 1655.

351. Release by John Smith of Keghley (Yorks.) to Margaret Bell of Caton. Sept. 3, 1698.

352. Conveyance from John Smyth of Kighley to Henry Ryley of Caton. Mar. 3, 1698/9.

353. Agreement between Nicholas Hathornthwaite of Hare apletree in Quarmore, and Mary, his wife, on the one part, and John Dobson, Richard Storrin, and George Tompson of Caton. Apr. 27, 1706.

354. Lease by William Hinde to Thomas Bell, late of Caton. July 26, 1735.

355. Grant by the King to James Croft, gent. Nov. 10, 1812.

CATTERAL.

356. Release by John Watson, jun., of Preston, merchant, Elizabeth, his wife, and John Myers of Liverpool, merchant, to Henry Fielding of Catteral and Benjamin Fielding. Feb. 13, 1799.

CAWOOD.

357. Mortgage surrender by William Armstrong to Nicholas Sugar. Apr. 22, 1764.

CHIPPING.

358. Conveyance from James Harrison of Chippinge to Andrew Shorrocke of Preston in Amounderness. Mar. 28, 1654.

359. Lease by John, son of Roger Shirburn, gent., to Peter Dewhurst of Everton. Feb. 16, 1702/3.

360. Declaration of trust by George Hey of Samlesbury. May 21, 1745.

361. Lease by James Harrison, the elder, of Blackmoss in Chipping, to James Harrison, his son. July 9, 1736.

CHORLEY.

362. Conveyance from William Leigh of Westhaughton to Thomas Kindsley. Apr. 20, 1626.

363. Bond by John Welding to Richard Waringe, silkweaver. Feb. 28, 1656/6.

CLITHEROE.

364. Security to the Hon. Robert Curzon of Lincoln's Inn for £200. July 1, 1810.

COLNE.

365. Release by Robert Hargreaves to John Walshman of Pendleton and Jane, his wife. Mar. 2, 1762/3.

COTTAM.

366. Release by Robert Bonny to Hugh Ashton of Byspham. Feb. 2, 1632/3.

CULCHETH.

367. Sale by Thomas Sothworth of Samlesbury, esq., and John Sothworth, his son, to John Culcheth. Oct. 11, 1604.

DALTON.

368. Final concord between John Chainney and Richard Dodson on the one part, and John Dodson, Jane, his wife, John Chainney, Agnes, his wife, William Tompson, Elizabeth, his wife, Edward Higgin and Jenett, his wife. Aug. 25, 1697. (Lat.).

369. Final concord between Thomas Bigge, Joseph Dodgson and John Woodburne on the one part, and Richard Dodgson, Martha, his wife, Sarah Dodgson, widow, John Remmington, Mary, his wife, Edwin Ritson and Anna, his wife. Mar. 21, 1701. (Lat.).

DARCY LEVER.

370. Bond of James Crompton, paper maker, to Joseph Woolfenden, fuller. Jan. 24, 1716/7.

371. Bond of Miles Pollett to Thomas Schoales. June 15, 1719.

372. Lease by Joseph Wolfenden, miller, to William Kirkman of Ainsworth. Jan. 24, 1723/4.

373. Assignment from John Crompton, son of William Crompton, to John Harpur of Halliwell. June 30, 1656.

WEST DERBY.

374. Surrender from Richard Norres of Kirkbie to Thomas Heaton of Fazakerley and Ellen, his wife, in the Halmote. Apr. 25, 1679. (Lat.). Copy.

375. Surrender from Thomas Heaton to Richard Heaton. May 12, 1714. (Lat.). Copy.

DROYLSDEN.

376. Final concord between Miles Peld', on the one part, and John Hall, Mary, his wife, and William Walker. 1714. (Lat.).

ECCLES.

377. Lease by Samuel Bennison to William Bryce. Feb. 1, 1762.

GREAT ECCLESTON.

378. Assignment from William Crooke of Elswick and Margaret, his wife, to Richard Hudson of Crossmore. Feb. 3, 1728/9.

379. Lease by William Johnson of Rushton Grange, York, esq., Edward Wrightington, esq., Ralph Ashton, esq., Richard Turner and Roger Kenion of Whalley, to Alexander, son of William Johnson, of tithes in Eccleston and Elswick. June 16, 1630.

380. Lease by the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, to Sir Thomas Clifton of Lytham, Bt. June 9, 1671.

ELLEL.

381. Bond of Thomas Willary to James Rigge of Lancaster. Feb. 12, 1759.

ELSWICK.

382. Lease by Henry France to Alex. Johnson of Rishton Grange in Bowlands, Yorks. Apr. 27, 1683.

ELTON.

383. Final concord between John Cuffe and Charles Ducknall on one part, and Samuel Matthews and Elizabeth, his wife. Mar. 25, 1732. (Lat.).

384. Lease by Richard Powell of Heaton Norris, esq., to James Shaw of Bridges in Broadlesome. Oct. 14, 1790.

FARINGTON.

385. Final concord between William Rylands and James Barton on one part, and Richard Cheshire. Sept. 7, 1671. (Lat.).

386. Release by John Leyland of Haigh and Thomas Leyland of Wiggan to George Woodhouse of Preston in Amounderness. Oct. 11, 1681.

387. Feoffment from John Cheshire to John Eastham. Mar. 8, 1683/4.

388. Sale by John Cheshire to James Whitaker of Hoole. Sept. 9, 1708.

389. Release by the same to the same. Sept. 10, 1708.

390. Lease by Evan Eastham to Roger Sudell of Preston. Feb. 23, 1708/9.

391. Lease by the same to the same. Feb. 1, 1709/10.

392. Assignment from John Cheshire and James Whitaker to Robert Gregson and John Gregson, two of the trustees of Woodplumpton school. Feb. 2, 1709/10.

393. Lease by John Gregson, John Hall of Salwich, William Rydeing of Croston, and John Cheshire to John Charnley of Grimsargh. May 26, 1715.

394. Lease by the same to the same. May 27, 1715.

395. Conveyance from Evan Eastham to John Woodcock, the elder, of Cuerden, gent., and Richard Pollard of Wallon. May 3, 1716.

396. Assignment from John Woodcock, the younger, gent., John Richardson of Preston and Elizabeth Woodcock of Preston, spinster, executors of Thomas Woodcock, late of Walton-in-le-Dale, to Thomas Whalley of Preston. May 18, 1726.

397. Conveyance from John Woodcock, the elder, to John Charnley. May 20, 1726.

398. Agreement between Robert Charnley and Thomas Charnley, his father. Aug. 19, 1741.

399. Lease by Robert Charnley of Walton-in-le-Dale to Robert Oliver, M.A., of Preston. Mar. 2, 1753.

400. Mortgage by Robert Charnley to Robert Oliver, M.A. Mar. 3, 1753/4.

FAKENHAM.

401. Court leet proceedings before James Calthorpe, steward. Oct. 9, 1705.

402. Admission of Sir William Andrew, Bt., at General Court Baron. May 22, 1758. Copy.

403. The same of Bridget Southcote. May 21, 1759.

FIELD BROUGHTON.

404. Sale by William Barrowe of Woodbroughton in Cartmell to Isaac Knype of the same. Feb. 18, 1604/5.

FINSTHWAITE.

405. Will of Edward Taylor, esq. Dec. 11, 1775. Copy.

406. Codicil to same. July 22, 1789. Copy.

FLIXTON.

407. Mortgage by Peter Leigh, esq., of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-fields, and Elizabeth, his wife, to John Nicolson, esq., of the parish of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster. Nov. 22, 1752.

GOOSNARGH.

408. Conveyance from Mathew Latus to Cuthbert Hesketh. Jan. 27, 1610/1.

409. Confirmation of the same by Ralph Latus. Dec. 20, 1615.

410. Release by Thomas Parkinson to Gabriel Hesketh. Jan. 8, 1622.

411. Receipt for arrears from John Shalcrosse to Alexander Rigby. Dec. 20, 1649.

412. Conveyance from Hugh Cooper of Ormsekirke, gent., James Walmisley of Turton, gent., Thomas Wilson of Wrightington, gent., and James Whittaker of Manchester, to Thomas, son of Francis Turner. Sept. 12, 1642.

413. Conveyance from the same to the same. Sept. 20, 1642.

414. Lease by William Paley of Gigleswick to George Kighler. May 25, 1654.

415. Lease by Gabriell Hesketh to John, son of Bartholomew Taylor. Mar. 22, 1660/1.

416. Lease by the same to William Bradshaw. Mar. 22, 1660/1.

417. Assignment from Edmund Porter of Westfield to Thomas Turner of the same. Apr. 15, 1661.

418. Release by Robert Porter and Edmund Porter to Thomas Cardwell. July 29, 1667.

419. Lease by Hugh Cooper of Chorley to Thomas Cardwell. July 13, 1681.

420. Lease by John Warren of Stockport and Ann, his wife, to Cuthbert Cardwell. May 30, 1698.

421. Lease by Thomas Turner (otherwise Porter) and Ann, his daughter, to Richard Worswick. June 24, 1699.

422. Declaration of trust of purchase from Benjamin Cardwell and Robert Mawdesley to Cuthbert Cardwell. June 18, 1715.

GORTON.

423. Conveyance from Thomas Cock to John Ryder. Dec. 23, 1752.

424. Lease by William Dawson of Manchester, apothecary, and Thomas Jackson to Roger Neild of Salford. July 18, 1729.

425. Conveyance from Samuel Hanson to John Grimshaw of Audenshaw. Dec. 18, 1742.

426. Assignment from John Hesketh of Warrington to Richard Taylor in trust for John Grimshaw. Dec. 7, 1747.

GRESGARTH AND CATON.

427. Agreement between Francis, son of Thomas Morley of Winnington, esq., and the Hon. Sir Henry Compton, K.B., of Bramblety (Sussex) and George Compton, fourth son of the same. —— 28 (1629-1630).

HALTON GREEN.

428. Lease by Ezra Woolston, gent., to Thomas Simpson of Torisholme. May 2, 1674. Seal.

429. Agreement between Christopher Barwick and Agnes Thornton. Mar. 22, 1610/1.

430. Release by Ezra Woolston to Thomas Simpson. May 4, 1674.

431. Lease by Susanna Woolston, widow, and Samuel Woolston to William Greenbanke. Dec. 6, 1696.

HASLINGDEN.

432. Deed of surrender from Katherine Moreton of Manchester, James Greatrex, and Katherine, his wife, to the use of Mary Barlow of Tottington. Apr. 18, 1760.

HATLEX.

433. Bond of Leonard Stout to Robert Chippindale of Bolton le Sands. Dec. 27, 1697.

HAWKSHAW AND TOTTINGTON.

434. Surrender from James Taylor, late of Sharpless, now of Halliwell, to the use of John Cooper of Halliwell and John Yates of Rumworth. Oct. 23, 1782.

HEAPEY.

435. Lease by Edward May of Eltham to John Farnworth of Euxton. Dec. 1, 1671.

HEATH CHARNOCK.

436. Lease by Thomas Charnock of Astley, esq., to Richard Holland of Heaton, esq., and Thomas Breres of Rivington. July 25, 1645.

HEATON NORRIS.

437. Conveyance from Richard Gilbody to his brother, Thomas Gilbody. Apr. 21, 1681.

HEYSHAM.

438. Conveyance from Robert Ryley to Elizabeth Chaffer. Oct. 14, 1671.

439. Release by Thomas Brand, the elder, of Poulton, to Edmund Lawson. Mar. 11, 1697/8.

440. Lease by William Mashiter and Robert, his son, to William Jackson of Roosecoate-in-Furness. June 1, 1705.

441. Lease by William Jackson to William Bispham. June 22, 1711.

HODDLESDEN.

442. Sale by Robert Peele of Oswaltwistle to Ralph Marsden. Dec. 25, 1694.

443. Mortgage by George Hargreave to Sir William Farrington of Shaw Hall, kt., and Peter Brooke, esq., of Mere, co. Chester. Sept. 5, 1772.

HOLCROFT.

444. Proceedings between John Caulveley, plaintiff, and John Holcroft, Charles Holcroft, Margaret Holcroft and William Wade. May 3, 1665. Copy.

445. Copy of evidence in proceedings of Caulveley v. Holcroft. July 26, 1676.

MUCH HOOLE.

446. Lease by Peter Jump of Ainsdale to Thomas Bonny. Apr. 2, 1766.

HORNBY.

447. Deed relating to tenancy of Robert Dickson. Aug. 3, 1625.

448. The same concerning John, son of Robert Dickson. Mar. 24, 1635.

449. The same concerning John Dixon. Feb. 1, 1661/2.

HUYTON.

450. Conveyance from Robert Knowles of Knowsley, Thomas Naylor of Littlewoolton, John Knowles of Prescott, Mary, his wife, Henry Carter of Wavertree and Hannah, his wife, to Richard Jameson of Liverpool. Nov. 8, 1680.

451. Assignment from Jonathan Barton and William Barton, his father, to Jonathan Case of Redhasells. Apr. 9, 1694.

452. Assignment from John Lawton of Prescott to Joseph Tuor of West Derby and Isaac Greene of Prescott. Feb. 4, 1711/2.

453. Lease by Dorothy Harrington of Aygburgh, widow, to Thomas, son of Jonathan Case, gent. Nov. 21, 1719.

454. Mortgage by Jonathan Case to George Warrington of Chester, gent. Mar. 18, 1720/1.

455. Assignment from Humphrey Walley of Winstanley, Samuel Betson of Childwall and Peter Mosscroft, to Thomas Case. Sept. 9, 1720.

456. Declaration of trust by William Marsh of Knowsley, gent., and William Crouchley of Eccleston relating to an assignment of a mortgage to Jonathan Case. Jan. 30, 1721/2.

457. Lease by Jonathan Case to Peter Legh of Lyme, co. Chester, esq., Richard Atherton of Bewsey, esq., Banester Parker of Extwisle, esq., and George Tyrer of Leverpool. Mar. 5, 1721/2.

IGHTENHILL.

458. Halmote proceedings at Higham concerning John Hargreaves. Oct. 26, 1637.

INGOL.

459. Will of William Arkewright. June 22, 1640.

NETHER KELLETT.

460. Conveyance from John Jackson to Robert Carter of Skerton. Jan. 22, 1619/20.

461. Lease by William Masie of Lancaster, gent., to Robert Shawe. June 23, 1656.

462. Conveyance from Timothy Burrow and Elizabeth, his wife, to Rowland Burrow of Browne, Westmorland, clerk, and Joshua Burrow of Leighton becke, Westmorland. Aug. 10, 1681.

463. Lease from John Shaw, Anne Shaw, widow of Robert Shaw, and Henry Bateson, to Edmund Withers of Hooton Roberts, co. Yorks. Mar. 22, 1706/7.

464. Conveyance from Robert Carter to James Jackson. Jan. 23, 1647/8.

465. Declaration of trust by James Barton of Halton touching assignment of mortgage to Rev. William Withers, rector of Tankersley, Yorks. Mar. 3, 1755.

LANCASTER.

466. Bond of John Cawson of Norbreck-in-Cockerham to James Tomblinson and John Tomblinson. Mar. 17, 1665/7.

467. Conveyance from John Cawson to John Tomblinson. Dec. 8, 1665.

468. Conveyance from John Cawson to James Tomblinson. Dec. 8, 1665.

469. Grant by James Tomblinson to John Tomblinson. Oct. 29, 1674.

470. Conveyance by William Greene to Thomas Greene. Nov. 30, 1677.

471. Bond of John Tomblinson to Robert Parkinson, gent. Sept. 25, 1684.

472. Conveyance from the same to the same. Sept. 25, 1684.

473. Conveyance from Thomas Clarkson of Garstang to William Green. Feb. 25, 1673.

474. Receipt from Charles Rigby to Jeremiah Fell. Nov. 26, 1716.

475. Lease by John Clifton of London, and Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of Randolph Hunter of Lancaster, gent., to John Winter of Cockherham. Dec. 16, 1715.

476. Lease by John Winter to William Birdsworth. Aug. 14, 1719.

477. Release by the same to the same. Aug. 15, 1719.

478. Lease by William Birdsworth to Henry Godsalve and Abigail Yates, widow. Jan. 31, 1728/9.

479. Lease by Rowland Atkinson of Dolphin Barn Lane, co. Dublin, to George Gosling of Ellel. Apr. 15, 1728.

480. Lease for 900 years by George Gosling to Thomas Richmond of Lowerwyersdale. Jan. 30, 1728/9.

481. Lease by George Gosling to James Richmond. Feb. 1, 1737/8.

482. Release by Robert Winder, gent., John Penrose of Penzance, gent., and Thomas Metcalfe of Penzance to Abigail Yates. June 7, 1743.

483. Lease by James Styth, gent., to Thomas Carus of Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland, gent. Aug. 10, 1773.

484. Recovery by William Turner Carus, gent., from Thomas Carus, gent. Aug. 21, 1773.

485. Lease by Mary, wife of John Thornton of Skerton, and Jane Edmondson, widow, to James Isherwood of Lancaster. Feb. 12, 1783.

486. Lease by the Mayor (Edward Stuart) and bailiffs of Lancaster to Thomas Lister, cabinet-maker. Feb. 10, 1792.

487. Lease by John Watson, the younger, of Preston, merchant, and John Myers of Liverpool, merchant, to Henry Fielding of Catterall, calico printer, and Benjamin Fielding of the same, calico printer. Feb. 12, 1799.

488. Probate of will of Abigail Dorothea Rawlinson, spinster. June 22, 1812.

LANGTREE.

489. Assignment from Catherine Haydock of Standish, widow, to Isaac Jackson of Bury, innkeeper. Aug. 22, 1722.

490. Extract from the rolls of the Master of the Rolls of proceedings between George Bretland, esq., plaintiff, and Fleetwood Langworth and Edward Langworth, gent. Jan. 21, 1717/8.

LARBROOK.

491. Exchange from Thomas Fletcher of Singleton Grange to George Swartbrecke of Larbrecke. Sept. 2, 1616.

LAYTON.

492. Particulars of the estate of the late Sir Alexander Rigby, kt.

LEAGRAM.

493. Settlement on the intended marriage of John Weld, esq., and Mary Eleanor Selby of Acton, co. Middlesex. Oct. 22, 1846.

LINDALE IN CARTMELL.

494. Sale by Richard Casson of Grange-in-Cartmell to Richard Taylior of the Seedeshawe in Lindall. Feb. 14, 1625/6.

LITTLEDALE.

495. Conveyance from Francis Duckett of Grayrigg, co. Westmorland, esq., and Richard Ashton of Mawdesley, gent., to Thomas Excroft of Littledale in Caton. Aug. 9, 1599.

THE LUNE.

496. Lease by Thomas Winkley of Lincoln's Inn, esq., to Thomas Foster of Preston. Apr. 30, 1721.

MANCHESTER.

497. Assignment from Hugh Clayton and Margaret, his wife, widow of John Wharmby, to Humphrey Boothe of Salford. May 26, 1603.

498. Release by William Harrison, and Anna, his wife, to Richard Ingham and Cicelye, his wife. May 24, 1623.

499. Agreement between William Beck, gent., and John Greene, innkeeper. Mar. 6, 1683/4.

500. Sale by Hannah Kinaston, widow, to Peter Brotherton. Oct. 15, 1713.

501. Bond of the same to the same. Oct. 16, 1713.

502. Release by the same to the same. Oct. 16, 1713.

503. Bond of Peter Brotherton, linen draper, to Jane Corles. Nov. 11, 1723.

504. Mortgage by the same to the same. Nov. 11, 1723.

505. Final concord between Thomas Butterworth, Joseph Byrom, Joshua Corles and Thomas Partington on the one part, and John Finch, the elder, Esther, his wife, and John Finch the younger. Apr. 13, 1726. (Lat.).

506. Assignment from Roger Merrick of Edisbury, co. Chester, and John Leigh of Wilmslow to Thomas Mulliner, the elder. Mar. 24, 1740/1.

507. Release by John Leigh of Hough-in-Wilmslow and Roger Merrick of Edsbury, gent., to John Heywood. June 25, 1740.

508. Lease by Robert Beswick to his brother Edmund Beswick of Blakely. Aug. 22, 1740.

509. Release by the same to the same. Aug. 23, 1740.

510. Lease by John Leigh to Thomas Mulliner, the younger, and Ralph Mulliner, both of Crewe. Mar. 23, 1740/1.

511. Agreement between Thomas Ashley and William Paulden and Hannah, his wife. Aug. 30, 1754.

512. Release by the Warden and Fellows of Christ's College, Manchester, to John Hardman. Dec. 2, 1757.

513. Release by the same to Richard Holme. Dec. 2, 1757.

514. Recovery by James Stonehewer against James Whitaker, gent. Mar. 22, 1774.

515. Deed of annuity from William Wells to John Wells, the elder, and John Wells, the younger. May 29, 1765.

516. Grant of a pew by the Churchwardens of St. John's, Manchester, to Folliot Powell. Sept. 9, 1769.

517. Lease by Daniel Walker and Daniel, his son, to Josiah Birch. Feb. 21, 1770.

518. Lease by Arthur Clegg to John McFarland. May 1, 1770.

519. Lease by George Cooke to James Cooke of Salford, gent. Nov. 13, 1776.

520. Will of Daniel Walker, blacksmith. Sept. 9, 1771. Copy.

521. Final concord between James Holton and James Battye and Ann, his wife. Aug. 29, 1778.

522. Bond of Daniel Walker to Hannah, wife of James Barnes, widow of his father, the late Daniel Walker. May 29, 1778.

523. Lease by James Ogden, weaver, Grace, his wife, Isaac Ogden of Farnworth, miner, Mary, his wife, John Ogden of Bradford in the parish of Manchester, collier, Alice, his wife, Samuel Ogden, marine on board H.M.S. *Victory*, Abraham Ogden, collier, Mary, his wife, Elijah Ogden of Houghton, shoemaker, John Brewer, collier, Jane, his wife, David Collier, weaver, Mary, his wife, Samuel Hardy, fustian dresser, and Ann, his wife, to Thomas Bowker of Pendleton, farmer, and John Watson of Farnworth, blacksmith. May 1, 1781.

524. Final concord between James Barnes and Daniel Walker and Ann, his wife. Mar. 29, 1786.

525. Release by John Birch and Ann, his wife, to Samuel Burgess. Jan. 9, 1789.

526. Lease by Thomas Marsden of Newton, near Chester, esq., Joseph Whimpey, late of London, Peter de la Rive, late of London, and Roger Rogerson of Warrington, to Martha Clare, widow, of Sutton near Frodsham. May 1, 1789.

527. Transfer by William Thistlethwaite, grocer, to Peter Wright, gent., of "four several Shares of and in the Navigation of the Rivers Mercy and Irwell." Aug. 24, 1793.

528. Lease by Sir Ashton Lever of Accrington to John Kirkman. Dec. 23, 1781.

529. Will (and probate) of John Lane. Nov. 26, 1779. Administered July 4, 1796.

530. Note concerning the will of Edward Cash. Sept. 17, 1803.

MICHAELCHURCH.

531. Assignment from Sir Oliver Luke of Arichsey, co. Bedford., kt., and Sir Miles Fleetwood, H.M. Receiver General of the Court of Wards and Liveries, to Thomas Hayes of Gilden Morden, co. Cambridge, esq., and Ultrid Hodgkinson of Shawehouse in Bolland, co. York. June 29, 1625.

532. Confirmation of agreement between William Johnson of London, esq., and Alexander, his son. June 10, 1630.

MIDDLETON.

533. Decree concerning the privileges of lands of the dissolved monastery of Cockersand. Oct. 13, 1618.

534. Lease by William Harrison of Forton, William Burkett of Middleton, and Robert Lawson of Heysham, to Robert Ryley of Heysham. Jan. 20, 1629/30.

NEWTON.

535. Will of Thomas Wilson. Feb. 2, 1706/7.

536. Lease by William Slater to Thomas Carus, esq., of Halton Hall. Feb. 11, 1713/4.

NORBRECK.

537. Bond of John Cawson to James Tomblinson. Dec. 8, 1665.

538. Bond of the same to John Tomblinson. Dec. 8, 1665.

OAKENHEAD.

539. Surrender by John Cunliffe of Haslingden and Ann, his wife, to the use of James Haworth of Manchester, gent. May 1, 1787.

ORMSKIRK.

540. Lease from Richard Hawitt to Thomas Greaves of Scarsbricke. May 1, 1665.

OVER WYRESDALE.

541. Mortgage by Richard Johnson of the Moorehead, his widowed mother Alice, and Anne Johnson, his sister, to John Hirdman of Quarmore. Feb. 2, 1684/5.

542. Release by Francis Lea to William Starzaker. Dec. 5, 1687.

PENKETH.

543. Release by Thomas Ashton, esq., and John Ashton, his son, to Sir Gilbert Ireland of Hutt, kt. Aug. 20, 1668.

PENWORTHAM.

544. Lease by James Forshaw of Penwortham and Edward Pedder of Preston to Robert Fowler of Farington. Nov. 10, 1769.

545. Release by the same to the same. Nov. 11, 1769.

546. Lease by William Farrington of Shaw Hall, esq., Margaret, his widowed mother, William Farrington, vicar of Leigh, his uncle, to Thomas Forshaw. Sept. 29, 1757.

PILLING.

547. Bond of James Taylor, Richard Brade, William Carter, George Carter and Peter Bradshaw, to Thomas Dickonson. June 20, 1661.

548. Bond of John Dickonson to John Prockter of Preesall. Mar. 20, 1666/7.

549. Lease by Barnaby Hesketh of Northmeals, esq., and Roger Hesketh, gent., to Isabel Diconson. Nov. 16, 1680.

550. Lease by George Adison of Preston to Edward Braid. Oct. 24, 1681.

551. Lease from George Addison, gent., and John Bradshaw of Preesall to Thomas Johnson, gent. July 31, 1682.

552. Release by George Addison and John Bradshawe to Richard Danson. Aug. 2, 1682.

553. Lease by Thomas Johnson to Robert Thornton. Oct. 4, 1682.

554. Agreement between the same. Oct. 6, 1682.

555. Release by William Tomlinson of Blackpool and Thomas Putler of Sealmin to Robert Carter. April 13, 1704.

556. Bond of John Thornton to Robert Carter. Feb. 4, 1705/6.

557. Lease by John Trafford of Croston, esq., to John Kenady. Oct. 21, 1724.

POULTON.

558. Conveyance from John Robinson of Lancaster to Edmund Crosfield. Jan. 18, 1699/1700.

559. Release by William Richardson of Halton, gent., and Thomas Brand to Richard Procter. Feb. 3, 1732/3.

560. Lease by Richard Wilson of Whitham to Robert Raby. Apr. 1, 1766.

561 Demise of a pew from Bradshaw Croft of Carleton to Richard Wilkinson, gent. Feb. 13, 1775.

562. Lease by Jennet Threlfall Warbrick of Lancaster to John Bisbrowne, gent., and John Harrison. Oct. 26, 1787.

PREESALL.

563. Lease by the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Bindlos of Borwickhall, Bt., to Thomas Dickenson of Pilling. Oct. 10, 1648.

564. Conveyance from James Taylor, Richard Brade, William Carter, George Carter and Peter Bradshawe of Pilling to John Bell of Pilling. June 20, 1662.

565. Conveyance from John Dickonson of Pilling to John Prockter. Mar. 20, 1667/8.

566. Will of William Bibby (with probate). May 8, 1691.

567. Assignment from Mathew Dickonson of Pilling to Robert Carter. Feb. 23, 1690/1.

568. Lease by John Thornton to Robert Carter. Feb. 1, 1710/1.

569. Final concord between Francis Atkinson, gent., and William Elletson and Elizabeth, his wife. Mar. 17, 1758.

PRESTON.

570. Lease by Charles Farrington of Ribleton, gent., to George Kendall of the same. June 28, 1637.

571. Will of Rowland Hodgson (with probate). Aug. 22, 1721.

572. Will of Thomas Whalley. 1725. Draft.

573. Security from Laurence Wall, esq., to Thomas Clayton, gent. May 5, 1739.

574. Final concord between Luke Astley, plaintiff, and John Smith, Jane, his wife, Henry Leigh, Samuel Leigh and Sarah Leigh. Aug. 29, 1767.

575. Rental of lands of William Assheton and Mary, his wife. 1771.

RAWCLIFFE.

576. Release by William Garlick of Greenalgh-cum-Thistleton to John Jenkinson, the younger. Feb. 2, 1731/2.

577. Lease for 2000 years by John Jenkinson, the younger, to Francis Blacow. Mar. 10, 1738/9.

REEDLEY HALLOWS.

578. Inquisition in the Halmote Court of the forest of Pendle to the use of John Pimlitt. Oct. 10, 1744.

RIVINGTON.

579. Conveyance from Richard Hutton, sergeant-at-law, Thomas Tyldisley of Orford, esq., and Katherine Pilkington to George Aynesworth. Mar. 30, 1611.

580. Lease by Peter Shawe of Shawplace, gent., to Richard Lathom. Aug. 1, 1682.

ROSEACRE.

581. Will of Lawrence Swartbrecke (with probate). Feb. 2, 1696/7.

RUSHOLME.

582. Final concord between John Hartley and others and Thomas Prestwich (?) and others. Worn; temp. Charles I. (Lat.).

SALFORD.

583. Lease from John Bretland of Norley (co. Chester) to John Seddon of Manchester. Sept. 19, 1743.

584. Release by the same to the same. Sept. 20, 1743.

585. Mortgage by Thomas Neild to James Marsden of Manchester. Dec. 17, 1744.

SCOTFORTH.

586. Release by Christopher Cawson to Jonathan Cawson of Lancaster. July 15, 1709.

587. Final concord between William Dickinson, gent., and Christopher Cawson, Dorothy Streaty, widow, and Ann Wilson, widow. Sept. 5, 1740.

588. Lease by Alan Patchet of Lancaster to David Bradley of Ellel. Apr. 17, 1741.

589. Release by David Bradley to William Lambert of Ellel. Oct. 10, 1767.

590. Lease by William Lambert of Caton to William Escolme of Scotforth. Feb. 12, 1773/4.

591. Release by the same to the same. Feb. 13, 1773.

SHACKERLEY.

592. Bond of John Blacklidge to Ann Parker of Bolton. Mar. 30, 1763.

SHARPLES.

593. Lease by the Rt. Hon. Thomas, Lord Viscount Fauconberg, baron of Yarrow, co. Yorks., to James Hamson of fouldes in Sharples. June 21, 1672.

SIDEGARTH.

594. Lease by Edmond Lyon of Huntingford, co. Herts., to Margaret Drinkell of St. Buttolph's without Bishopsgate, London. Apr. 6, 1682.

595. Release by the same to the same. Apr. 7, 1682.

596. Mortgage by Margaret Drinkell to Eleanor Turney, widow, of London. June 22, 1687.

SINGLETON.

597. Conveyance from William Ireland of the parish of St. Andrews-in-Holburn, London, to John Wilkinson. Aug. 19, 1611.

598. Articles of agreement between Hugh Nelson of Heskin, gent., and John Wilkinson. Apr. 10, 1611.

599. Conveyance from William Ireland to Thomas Fletcher. Aug. 19, 1611.

600. Conveyance from William Ireland to James Browne of Newton-cum-Scales. Dec. 21, 1611.

601. Conveyance from William Leigh of Standish, esq., and Theophilus, his son, to Christopher Tailer. Dec. 6, 1618.

602. Release by Roger Downes of Wordley, and Mary, his wife, late wife of Adam Eccleston, to Thomas Stanley of Eccleston, esq., and William Leigh, B.D., parson of Standish. Jan. 8, 1620/1.

603. Conveyance from John Hornby to Christopher Taylor. Mar. 2, 1630/1.

604. Conveyance from James Taylor to Christopher Taylor. Aug. 25, 1634.

605. Conveyance from Peter Woodhouse of Thornton and Christopher Taylor to John Sanderson of Ballome. Feb. 8, 1641/2.

606. Conveyance from Peter Woodhouse to John Sanderson. May 12, 1642.

607. Conveyance from John Wilkinson to William, his son. Feb. 2, 1638/9.

608. Lease by Richard Blackburne of Goosnarghe, gent., to William Wilkinson. Dec. 17, 1651.

609. Conveyance from William Walker of Kirkham to John Greene of Great Singleton. Nov. 10, 1659.

610. Release by William Walker, and William, his son, to Cuthbert Harrison. Feb. 16, 1662/3.

611. Conveyance from the same to the same. Feb. 16, 1662/3.

612. Release by Robert Blackborne of Goosenargh to Cuthbert Harrison. Aug. 12, 1667.

613. Release by William Leigh of Preston, gent., to Cuthbert Harrison. Dec. 11, 1673.

614. Lease by the same to the same. Dec. 10, 1673.

615. Lease by the same to the same. May 20, 1676.

616. Proceedings at Lancaster Assizes between Nicholas Woosey gent., and Thomas Starkie and Robert Sclater, gentlemen. Aug. 24, 1733.

617. Articles of agreement between the Rev. Thomas Hull of Preston and Richard Harrison of Bankfield, gent. Dec. 26, 1733.

618. Lease by Margaret, Alice and Isabella, daughters of Elizabeth Hull of Lancaster, widow, to Susannah Hornby of Poulton, widow. May 23, 1738.

SKELMERSDALE.

619. Release by John Ireton of London, esq., assignee of the Commissioners of Bankruptcy award against James Wainwright, to Thomas Dod of Ormskirk and Henry Ashcroft of the same. Jan. 8, 1680/1.

STALMINE.

620. Lease by Henry Butler of Middle Rawcliffe to John Breckill of Stalmine. Dec. 16, 1706.

621. Schedule of deeds lodged with John Hull. Feb. 28, 1703/4.

STRETFORD AND CHORLTON.

622. Final concord between John Bland, Bt., Edward Mosley, kt., Lawrence Wright, esq., and Richard Thornton, esq., plaintiffs, and Francis Mosley, the elder, Katherine, his wife, and Francis Mosley, the younger. Mar. 28, 1694. (Lat.).

623. Lease by Francis Mosley, and Jane, his wife, to Richard Blomeley, gent., of Stockport, and Nathaniel Corles of Cheadle, gent. Nov. 14, 1705.

624. Indenture between the same for levying a fine. Dec. 3, 1705.

625. Agreement between Richard Blomeley and Nathaniel Corles with Francis Mosley. Dec. 4, 1705.

626. Counterpart of the same. Dec. 4, 1705.

627. Final concord between Richard Blomeley and Nathaniel Corles, plaintiffs, and Francis Mosley, clerk, and Jane, his wife. Mar. 14, 1706. (Lat.).

628. Final concord between Thomas Clowes and John Clowes, plaintiffs, and Francis Mosley and Jane, his wife. Mar. 5, 1721. (Lat.).

629. Counterpart of the same. Mar 5, 1721. (Lat.).

SUTTON.

630. Appointment of attorney from William Woods to Hugh Gaskell. Mar. 11, 1760.

SWARTHMOOR HALL.

631. Lease by Sir William Wentworth, Bt., of Brettonhall, co. Yorks., to Peter Nicholson of Dublin. Feb. 18, 1754.

THINGWALL.

632. Conveyance from John Boulton to William Dwarrihouse of Westderby. Jan. 28, 1647/8.

633. Conveyance from William Bolton, Henry Bolton and Nicholas Bolton, to John Mercer and Richard Bolton. Oct 20, 1676.

634. Agreement between William Bolton, Henry Bolton, Nicholas Bolton, Richard Eltonhed, the elder, of Sutton, esq., Ann, his wife, Richard Eltonhead, the younger, Ann, his wife, and John Case of Redhasles, gent., and Elizabeth, his wife, of the first part, John Mercer of Tuebrooke in Westderby and Richard Bolton of Huyton of the second part, and Edmund Tunstall of Sutton of the third part. Mar. 1, 1676/7.

THISTLETON AND KIRKHAM.

635. Writ relating to a plea between Richard Wilson, esq., demandant, and Joseph Bennett and Joseph Lancaster, gentlemen, tenants. 1740-41.

STAYNOR-IN-THORNTON.

636. Lease by John Addinson to John Hudson. Feb. 12, 1754.

637. Transfer of mortgage from Joseph Roe of Hambleton and John Addinson to John Hudson. Feb. 13, 1754.

TONGE.

638. Conveyance from Walter Vernon of the Inner Temple, London, esq., and Ralph Hough of Lothbury to John Bradshawe of Gray's Inn. June 1, 1636.

TOTTINGTON.

639. Conveyance from Christopher Anderton of Lostock, esq., to John Greenhalgh, the younger, of Brandlesome. Mar. 3, 1613/4.

640. Surrender by Edmund Burie of Romsbothom, gent., and Elizabeth, his wife, to the use of Richard Romsbothom of Riddisher and John, his son. May 10, 1664. (Lat.).

641. Surrender by Thomas Greenhalgh of Brandlesome to the use of Laurence Rawstorne, John Berrisford and others. Apr. 26, 1692. (Lat.).

642. Agreement between Thomas Meadowcroft and Charles Nuttall, on the one part, and Henry Greenhalgh of Brandlesome. Dec. 7, 1709.

643. Surrender by John Berisford (or Berifford) of Ashbourne, co. Derby, to the use of Ann Greenhalgh. June 12, 1735.

644. Surrender by John Berisford to the use of Elizabeth Mathews. June 18, 1736.

645. Surrender by William Brandwood, James Brandwood, Thomas Wood and John Barlow, to the use of John Ramsbottom and William, his son. May 18, 1737.

646. Surrender by John Ramsbottom of Redisher to the use of Henry Bridge. Aug. 28, 1741.

647. Surrender by Samuel Mathews of Bevestown, Kilkenny, Ireland, and Elizabeth, his wife, to the use of Sir Ralph Asheton of Middleton and John Asheton. June 15, 1742.

648. Inquisition to the use of Elizabeth Mathews. June 15, 1742.

649. Surrender by Henry Bridge of Little Bolton to the use of John Ramsbottom. Oct. 13, 1758.

650. Surrender by Sir Ralph Asheton, Bt., to the use of Joseph Matthews. Nov. 22, 1760.

651. Surrender by Joseph Matthews to the use of Sir Ralph Asheton and Richard Asheton. Nov. 9, 1763.

652. Surrender by Sir Harbord Harbord of Gunton, Norfolk, Bt., Dame Mary, his wife, Sir Thomas Egerton of Heaton, Bt., Dame Eleanor, his wife, Elizabeth Matthews and Joseph Matthews, her son, to the use of Samuel Matthews. Aug. 21, 1770.

653. Surrender by the same to the use of Eleanor Asheton and Richard Asheton. Aug. 22, 1770.

654. Surrender by Robert Nuttal of Bury, esq., to the use of Richard Whitehead of Preston, esq., and John Hamer, the younger, of Rochdale. Mar. 25, 1775.

655. Covenant to surrender from Richard Powell, esq., of Heaton Norris, to William Greenhalgh of Greenhalgh Moss. Oct. 14, 1790.

TREILES (?).

656. Lease by Robert Sanderson, Anne, his wife, and Elizabeth Swartbreck to Christofer Johnson of Elswick. Jan. 3, 1672/3.

TUNSTALL.

657. Conveyance from Robert Cowper, Anthony Cowper and Edmond Tunstall of Nether Burrow to Thomas Nicholson. Dec. 11, 1618.

658. Bond of Robert Howgill, John Preston and Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Howgill, to William Knipe of Broughton-in-Cartmell. Apr. 17, 1657.

ULNES WALTON.

659. Will of Thomas Langtree. Dec. 13, 1721.

ULVERSTON AND MANCHESTER.

660. Lease by John Abraham of Swarthmoore Hall, gent., to James Collins, of Knaresborough, co. Yorks., gent. Dec. 27, 1743.

WAITHOLME.

661. Conveyance from Thomas Osliffe of Yelland Conyers to Thomas Clerkson of Brackenthwait in Yelland Storrs. Jan. 17, 1672/3.

WARTON.

662. Conveyance from John Sharples of Freckleton, gent., to Hugh Asshtonn of Bisphame. Feb. 20, 1625/6.

663. Assignment from Thomas Hall of Freckleston to Hugh Asshtonn. Nov. 18, 1627.

664. Conveyance from Robert Bonny of Cottome to Hugh Asshtonn. Jan. 26, 1629/30.

WHISTON.

665. Assignment from Ralph Russell of London to Robert Mollineux of the Wood and Edward Alcock of Eccleston. June 14, 1677.

666. Lease by Cuthbert Ogle of Chester, esq., to Jonathan Case of Redhassells. Feb. 13, 1701/2.

667. Release by Cuthbert Ogle and Jonathan Case to Thomas Hatton of Warrington. Apr. 16, 1702.

668. Assignment from John Lawton of Prescott, gent., Jonathan Case and Richard Ogle to Isaac Greene of Prescott, gent. Feb. 2, 1711/2.

669. Release by Jonathan Case, esq., Thomas Hatton of Warrington and Ellen, his wife, to William Webster of Prescott. Mar. 24, 1712/3.

670. Release by Robert Case to William Case. Apr. 20, 1713.

671. Lease by Thomas Case, son of Jonathan, to Henry Holland. Aug. 6, 1729.

672. Mortgage from Thomas Case to Dame Katherine Aston of Aston, co. Chester. May 11, 1733.

673. Assignment from William Case to Thomas Case. Feb. 28, 1735/6.

674. Assignment from Richard Wright of Cronton, gent., administrator of the possessions of Ellen Edwardson, late of Liverpool, and Henry Holland, to John Lyon of Warrington. May 25, 1738.

WHITTINGHAM.

675. Lease by James Haighton of Alston, Robert Porter of Goosnargh, and William Norcross of Alston to Henry Parker. July 9, 1731.

WHITTINGTON.

676. Conveyance from Cristofer Carus of Halton to John Baynes of Sellothall. Aug. 20, 1611.

677. Conveyance from Richard Jackeson, M.A., parson of Halton, to Christopher Bower of Halton and John Hardy. July 28, 1638.

678. Counterpart of the same. July 28, 1638.

679. Conveyance from Bryan Dawney to Thomas Carus, the younger, of Westhall, gent. Mar. 1, 1657/8.

680. Exchange deed from Thomas Crowle, gent., to Bryan Dixon. June 28, 1709.

681. Exchange deed from the same to the same. Feb. 18, 1713/4.

WHITTLE-IN-LE-WOODS.

682. Deed of division by William Burscough of Leyland and Thomas Waring of Eccleston, near Croston. Mar. 7, 1638/9.

683. Conveyance from Thomas Waring to Richard, his natural brother, and Richard Waring. Aug. 9, 1639.

684. Lease by William Crook of Coppull, gent., to Thurstan Crichlow. Nov. 20, 1680.

685. Lease by Thomas Waring of Parbold to James Crooke of Clayton. Nov. 5, 1716.

686. Release by the same to the same. Nov. 6, 1716.

687. Lease by James Crook to Thomas Balshawe of Walton-in-le-Dale. May 24, 1729.

688. Lease by George Valentine of Chorley to William Alker of Samlesbury. Jan. 21, 1742/3.

WINDLE.

689. Probate of will of John Tarbuck. Oct. 12, 1843.

WOOD BROUGHTON.

690. Conveyance from John Atkinson, and Agnes, his mother, to William Knipe, gent. Feb. 13, 1626/7.

691. Conveyance from William Wallas to William Knipe. Feb. 4, 1635/6.

WOOD PLUMPTON.

692. Lease by Alexander Johnson, esq., of Rishton Grange, co. Yorks., to Jane Cance of Rufford. Feb. 3, 1639/40.

693. Counterpart of the same. Feb. 3, 1639/40.

WOOLDEN.

694. Bond of Edward Caulveley, of Great Woolden, esq., Peter Egerton, of Shaw, esq., John Holcroft, of Merton, esq., and Peter Heywood, of Heywood, esq., to Richard Yonge, Bt., of Waybridge, co. Surrey. June 1, 1636.

695. Lease by John Holcrofte, esq., to Thomas Worsley of Hovingham, co. Yorks. Nov. 10, 1655.

WRAY WITH BOLTON.

696. Writ to Edward Gorst, esq., and Thomas Birchall, Clerk and Deputy Clerk of the Peace for the county of Lancaster, with reference to a plea between Richard Marshall and William Green, plaintiffs, and Thomas Harrison and William Garnett, defendants. Feb. 12, 1821.

YEALAND.

697. Conveyance from Christopher Hopkins of Lancaster, optick-glass grinder, to Robert Robinson of Yealand readman, yeoman. Dec. 9, 1710.

VARIOUS.

698. Will (with probate) of James Reed of Stamford, Lincs. Nov. 11, 1767.

699. Settlement of lands in Sutterton, Lincs., on the marriage of Mary Dalby of Harlaxton and John Ponton of Little Paunton. Sept. 15, 1738.

700. Surrender by David Wore (?) and Mary, his mother, to the use of Richard Whittall, the younger. Nov. 2, 1717.

[R. 61986] **701-755.** Bought at the sale of the library of the late W. A. Lindsay, Esq., Clarenceux King of Arms. They were lot 64, Sotheby sale, Feb. 14, 1927.

AMOUNDERNESS (co. Lancs.).

701. General inquisition made at Preston. May 21, 1289.

702. Fragment of an inquisition. July 24, 1290.

ANCOATS (co. Lancs.).

703. Grant by Elena, widow of John de Trafford of Ancotes, to Anne, wife of Sir John de Assheton, kt., and Ralph de Assheton. Nov. 14, 1418.

BILSBOROUGH (co. Lancs.).

704. Quitclaim by Richard, son of Osbert of Dilleworthe, and Hauwisia, his wife, to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. "*Hiis testibus Domino Willelmo de Clifton, Domino Johanne de Lee, Henrico, fratre suo, Johanne alblasterio, Adam* (sic) *de Hocton, Willelmo de Barton, Willelmo de Grimesharhe, Willelmo de Thorent', Roberto de Qtigha* (?) *et allis.*" n.d. (circ. Edw. I).

705. Grant by Richard del Morilegh to Thomas Banastre of Bretherton. "*Hiis testibus Johanne de Rigmayden, Radulpho de Caterhale, Rogero de Wedacre, Rogero de Billesburgh, Willelmo filio Grimbaldi et aliis.*" n.d. (temp. Edw. I or Edw. II).

BOKETON (co. Notts.).

706. Grant by John Burdoun to John Burdoun, his son. "*Hiis testibus dominis Johanne de Eyuile, Ricardo de Sutton, Jacobo de Sutton, Johanne Bray, Roberto de Saundeby, Johanne de Lyceus, militibus, Hugone de Bekyngham et multis aliis.*" n.d. (temp. Hen. III).

BRETHERTON (co. Lancs.).

707. Agreement between Richard, son of John de Thorp, and Thomas, son of Thomas Banastre. July 25, 1293.

CHADERTON (co. Lancs.).

708. Feoffment by James Assheton of Chaderton, esq., to John Bradshawe of Bradshawe, Robert Holt of Assheworthe, and William Assheton of Clegge. June 11, 1585.

COLNE (co. Lancs.).

709. Tripartite indenture between Richard Townley of Townley and Charles Townley, his brother, of the first part, Catherine Constable of Townley of the second part, and Thomas Markham of Ollerton (Notts.) and Thomas, his son, of the third part, relating to the marriage of Catherine and Thomas the younger. Apr. 6, 1694. (Eng.).

DIETHOUR (co. Montgomery).

710. Quitclaim by Jaspar ap Hughe of Penrhin Vaghan to the Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Bromley, kt., Lord Chancellor of England. Jan. 16, 1582. One seal. (Eng.).

DOMGAY, etc. (co. Montgomery).

711. Lease by the Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Bromley to Richard Gruff of y^{e} Poole, and to Richard's sons. Mar. 8, 1582. (Eng.).

DURHAM, BISHOPRIC OF

712. Indenture between Lord FitzHugh, William Bowes, sen., and others. Dec. 8, 1459. Imperf.

EDENSTOWE (co. Notts.).

713. Grant by Richard Harald to William Staynford and William Birkyn. Mar. 6-12, 1438. Seal, a pelican.

EGREMONT CASTLE (co. Cumberland).

714. Grant by Walter, Lord Fitzwalter of Wodehame, to Thomas Anlaby, Thomas Carucka and John de Zork, clerks. Mar. 14, 1402. Damaged.

FOY (co. Hereford).

715. Assignment by the Rt. Hon. Anthony, Earl of Kent, to Mary, wife of Jeremy Bubb of Ingeston (co. Hereford), and Dorothy, wife of William Jones of Hugh Capell (co. Hereford). Feb. 23, 1682/3. (Eng.).

FRECKLETON (co. Lancs.).

716. Exchange by Sir Richard de Hoghton, kt., and John, son of William de Bredkirk. Feb. 5, 1397.

GARTHERYR (co. Denbigh).

717. Lease by Sir Thomas Myddelton, kt., of Chirke Castle, to Richard Wynne of Llangedwyn. July 10, 1639. (Eng.).

HOUGHTON (co. Lancs.).

718. Bond of William del Howe to Adam de Hoghton, and others. 1364. Very worn.

NETHER KELLET (co. Lancs.).

719. Confirmation of grant by Richard, son of Adam de Kellet, to Sir Thomas Banastre, kt. Oct. 20, 1299.

LONGDON (co. Stafford).

720. Grant by Robert, son of Waltheyof de Longesdun, to Richard, son of Richard de Edenshouere. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Stantun, Willelmo de Derley, Thoma de Derley, Jordano de Roulesk, Petro de Rolund, Ada, filio Petri de Longesdun, Matheo de Longesdun, Willothe de Longesdun, Roberto, filio Alexandri de Morneshall, Wiotho, fratre suo et multis aliis.*" n.d. circ. John.

MANCHESTER (co. Lancs.).

721. Grant by William le Hunt, chaplain, to William dil ffere, chaplain. Sept. 10, 1357.

722. Grant by John de Boterley, chaplain, to Cecilia, wife of William le Marchal. Nov. 17 (?), 1369. Seal.

723. Grant by William de Cluthrum to William de Mamcest'. "*Hiis Testibus Rogero de Stapilton, Roberto camerario, Alano de Aldefeld, Willelmo de Stothelay, David de Aldefeld, Gocelino noel, Gocelino de Brathewayt, Thoma de Cluthrum, Roberto de Cluthrum et aliis.*" n.d.

724. Grant by John le ffytheley, chaplain, to Richard, son of Robert le Hunt. Dec. 15, 1385.

NEWARK (co. Notts.).

725. Grant by Robert de Hornecastel, "*morans in Quasschingborow,*" and Agnes, his wife, to Roger de Girton, rector of Neuwerk, and Matilda, his wife. Dec. 6, 1380.

726. Quitclaim by John Grey, lord of Codnore, William Grey, dean of York, Walter Taylbos, Thomas Curson, and John fulveby, esquires, to Thomas Roos. Aug. 11, 1442. Seal fragments.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE (co. Northumberland).

727. Confirmation by William de Houghton to Richard de Emeldon, burgess. Aug. 26, 1314.

NEWTON (co. Lancs.).

728. Bond of Adam, son of Richard le harpur of Neuton, to John, son of William de Bredkirk. May 20, 1400.

OLLERTON (co. Notts.).

729. Grant by John, son of William de Allerton, to Robert Geruays of Suwell. "*Hiis testibus Johanne filio Henrici bi ye Watir' de Eddinstouwe, Johanne Primerol de Allerton, Hugone Stuffin de eadem, Willelmo Hasting' de eadem, Johanne lotesin de eadem, Waltero Kade de eadem et Radulfo Scleyt de eadem et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal in green wax.

730. Sale by Alexandrin Cutler to Thomas Markeham of Allerton, esq. May 18, 1563.

731. Agreement between Thomas Markham of Ollerton, Notts., and Ursula, his wife, a daughter of William Clopton of Clopton, George Anton of Honnyngton (co. Lincoln), Nicholas Stringar of Sutton-upon-Lound, and Samuel Chapman of Claxbie by Normanby upon the hill of the one part, and Robert Brudenell, son and heir of the Rt. Hon. Thomas, Lord Brudenell, and Sir Thomas Stafford, kt., of the other. Dec. 7, 1637. Two seals. (Eng.).

OVERTON (co. Notts.).

732. Grant by William Hunt, rector of Gotham, to William de Barkeston. Sept. 23, 1369.

PRESTON (co. Lancs.).

733. Delivery by William Laurenz, steward of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, to Sir Adam de Hoghton, kt., of the custody of the lands and marriage of Thomas, son of Adam Banastre. Oct. 23, 1334.

PRESTWICH, etc. (co. Lancs.).

734. Assignment by William Langley, parson of Prestwiche, William Wilson of Prestwiche, Edmund Scoles, Peter Scoles, Thurstan Scoles, John Tomlynson, William Ravold, Richard Ravold, James Jackes, Thomas Hilton, Thomas Geste, Edmund Assheton, the wife of James Cowper, Adam Ogden, James Hopwood, John Jackson, otherwise Prior, John Jackson of y^{e} Kirke, the wife of Rauffe Jackson, Robert Jackson, — Hopwood, John Whytehead, Edmund Tayler, James Brereley, Alice, his wife, Elizabeth and Anne, her daughters, Lawrence Buckley, James Buckley, Thomas Wynterbothome, John Buckley, Robert Wynterbothome, Thomas Newton, Rauffe Jackson, Thomas Smythe, otherwise Wynterbothome, John Tayler, Edmund Brereley, Samuel Tayler and Hugh Ogden, to James Assheton of Chaderton, co. Lancs., and Dorothy, his wife. June 9, 1585. Fragments of seals. (Eng.).

RINGBOROUGH (co. Yorks.).

735. Agreement between John de Hilderd of Druall and Richard de Roos of Ryngburgh. Aug. 6, 1362.

LITTLE SINGLETON (co. Lancs.).

736. Grant by Sir Adam Banastre, kt., to John, son of Thomas Banastre, and Nicholas, his brother, of the manor of Singleton parva and of many lands in Lancashire, including reversions of lands held by Margaret, daughter of Thomas Banastre, Gilbert del Morehall, Adam Veriens, William, son of Paulinus de Etheliston, John del Yate and John, son of John Banastre del Bonk. Dec. 17, 1333.

SNAITH (co. Yorks.).

737. Acknowledgment by Robert de Morton, "*receptor denariorum domini Johannis Regis Castelliae et Ducis Lancastriae,*" of payments by John, son of Henry Hobkynson, reeve of Snayth. Nov. 25, 1375.

SNENTON (co. Notts.).

738. Grant by Ralph, son of Robert Horn of Sneynton, to Henry, son of Gilbert de Sneynton. Oct. 2, 1304.

STOKEBASSETT (co. Oxford).

739. Grant by John, Earl of Bath, to John Croke of Stodeley. Feb. 20, 1543. Seal fragment, signature.

THORNTON (co. Lancs.).

740. Quitclaim by Sir Adam de Hoghton, kt., to Sir Thomas Banastre, kt. Sept. 7, 1376.

THORPE, BRETHERTON, etc. (co. Lancs.).

741. Grant by Ralph de Thorp to Sir Thomas Banastre, kt. Feb. 5, 1363.

742. Release by William del Howe to Ralph de Thorpe. Feb. 4, 1363.

TIDESWELL (co. Derby).

743. Quittance to the executors of William de Hokelow in the parish church of Tideswell "*coram nobis juratis ecclesie de Bankewell Commissariis generalibus.*" Feb. 21, 1389/90. Seal.

TINTERN ABBEY (co. Monmouth).

744. Grant by Hugh de la Harloter' to Tintern Abbey. "*Hiis testibus Domino Ada, vicario de Tudeham, Domino Roberto, vicario de Wolanston, Roberto de Anste, Mauricio Torel, Roberto Cradoc, Henrico Were, Johanne Perride, Henrico de Astefelde et aliis.*" Mar. 8 (?), 1279. Endorsed "*duplicatur.*" Old number: *XC.*

745. Grant by Henry de Estefeld to Tintern Abbey. "*Hiis testibus Thoma Walding, Mauricio Torel, Waltero Walding, Hugone le Harlet', Philippo Walense Et multis aliis.*" n.d. Old number: *xlv.*

746. Grant by Robert Hobyn to Tintern Abbey of land in Mulcroft. "*Hiis testibus Domino Roberto tunc vicario de Wolanston, Waltero Walding, Hugone le Harlet', Henrico de Estefeld, Johanne Pride, Johanne Bareth, Ade Monsip', Et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal (worn). Old number: *lxx.*

747. Grant by John de La More to Tintern Abbey of lands which he held by a charter of Roger le Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, Marshal of England. "*Hiis testibus Roberto Le Taburer, tunc Constabulario de Strigull', Radulpho de Auste, Thoma Walding, Wronoco Chaumpeneys, Waltero Sely, Ade Le Waleys, Roberto filio Cradoci, Et multis aliis.*" n.d. Old number: *xvii. a.*

748. Grant by Martin de Estfeld, with the consent of Emma, his wife, to Tintern Abbey of land in the fee of Tudeham. "*Et ut hec mea donacio concessio et confirmacio perpetue firmitatis robur optineat, vna cum sigillo domine Agnetis de Harloteria domine feodi assensum prebentis presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus Domino Radulpho clerico, Thoma Walding, Roberto cradoc, Roberto kere, Aluredo esegare, Et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal (imperf.). Old number: *xlvi.*

WIGMORE (co. Hereford).

749. Court roll. Apr. 5, 1432. One skin.

GREAT WILLASTON (co. Chester).

750. Power of attorney from John Shery, burgess of Pola (Poole), to Owen ap Jenna (?) ap Madoc to receive lands granted by Peter, son of John Pygot. Nov. 20, 1373.

WORKINGTON (co. Cumberland).

751. Will of Henry Curwen of Workington. Oct. 8, 1724. 2 sheets. Copy.

752. Codicil to the same. Dec. 21, 1724. Copy.

WREXHAM (co. Denbigh).

753. Probate of the will of Thomas Watson, late of Wrexham, granted to Agnes, his widow. May 25, 1665.

LANCASHIRE.

754. Account of Richard Harpur, Receiver General of the Duchy of Lancaster. Amounting to £89 12s. 6d.

755. Patent granting Thomas Holcroft, esq., a rent of £20 for lands in Lancashire during the minority of Richard, son of the late Thomas Shirborn, esq. June 4, 1538. Seal missing.